The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 11, 1895.

The Week.

THE advance in the price of grain and other farm products has not been large enough yet to wean Mr. David Lubin away from his pet project of having the Government give relief to agriculture by paying a bounty on exported grain. He is spending his time addressing such chambers of commerce on the Pacific Coast as he can get access to, and they are behaving quite generously to him. He finds, however, some very ugly questions to answer. When, for instance, he had laid before the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce his weighty argument, the Naval Officer of that port, Col. Irish, told him that all his theory amounted to was, that, to apply the protective system to farmers in this country, he would have our people taxed in order to give cheaper food to the people of Europe; and he wanted to know why, if protection was so unjust when applied to manufacturers, it would be any more just when applied to agriculture. The best reply that Mr. Lubin could make to this was, that, however desirable free trade might be, when it came to a vote our people would vote for protection every time (which the election returns do not bear out), and also that it does not concern us "at what price bread, cheese, and cobble-stones sell in Berlin or Rome." In Portland, Ore., Mr. Lubin was asked to explain where the Government would get the money with which to pay this bounty of his. That, he said, was to him an extremely easy problem. He would have the Government apply all, or a part of, the funds received as "protective revenue" for manufacturers in the payment of the bounty. If Mr. Lubin would only carry his cogitation a little further, he could easily get up a scheme by which protected manufacturers and protected farmers could tax themselves into millionaires in the course of two or three fairly wet summers.

The *Tribune* last week, evidently after a powerful mental effort, produced its tariff platform for 1896, by declaring that "the tariff question will be the controlling one." From this we infer that it anticipates either that the financial question will be finally settled under the present Democratic administration, or that the dodging process which all the would-be Republican leaders of to-day are practising will carry the Republican Presidential candidate outside of the current of financial discussion. But the *Tribune* imposes a big job on next year's tariff revisers. It tells them that the country

"will condemn a man as unfit for power if he is found advocating particular duties merely because they were wise in 1890, for the facts have radically changed. There is to be time for careful inquiry, which ought to go into the details of particular industries. Tremendous revolutions in modes of production have occurred, in part because of the extreme economies enforced by the prostration of 1893, and these teach lessons which no Republican leader can afford to overlook."

There is a whole volume of anti-protection arguments in these few sentences. It is conceded that a tariff bill framed with the utmost wisdom in 1890 becomes unwise five years later because "facts have radically changed," and that "no Republican leader can afford to overlook" the "tremendous revolutions in modes of production which have occurred." What greater economic folly could be imagined than to hand over to a body like Congress, largely made up of "practical" politicians, the framing of a set of regulations under which the business of the country must be conducted—regulations which ever-recurring "tremendous revolutions" in trade will demand shall be constantly amended? The only wonder is that any country, even with the natural vitality of ours, could enjoy any measure of business prosperity so long as its business interests were the plaything of parties and politicians. We only hope that the Republican leaders will accept the *Tribune's* advice, and ask a vote of the country on the question of turning back to McKinleyism.

Light is slowly breaking in upon the *Tribune* also as to the stimulating effect upon trade of the removal of tariff restraints, and it has now got so far as to warn its readers that the consequences of the new tariff are not yet known. This is a great advance over the period when these consequences were dogmatically asserted to involve the necessary ruin of American industry, and hardly any one can object to the proposition as an abstract truth. But its application in the concrete is not free from difficulty. For instance, wool has gone up about two cents a pound for some kinds—which, of course, is contrary to all the *Tribune's* predictions—and now it cannot comprehend how American manufacturers can pay this increased price as well as the higher wages which they have recently promised their hands, and meet foreign competition. They may somehow manage to do it in spite of the theory of protection, but at all events the great industries of the country will be "exposed to dangers against which, for many years under Republican protection, they were entirely free." There is some comfort in this, certainly, and it will be hard to disprove it. But on the specific case of the tin-plate industry the apprehensions of the *Tribune* may not prove to be well founded. It says that the rise in the cost of production has now gone so far that "tin plates can be imported a little more cheaply than they can be made here, and if this state of things continues, the industry with many thousand men is doomed." Happily this despondency of the editorial writer of the *Tribune* can have continued but a night, and joy must have come with the morning when he read in the financial reports of his own journal that the price of tin plate had advanced, and that "the commercial agencies report American tin-plate factories running at the highest pitch to meet the demand."

Now that a general rise in prices is actually taking place, the bimetallists have to abandon their great argument from declining prices, and betake themselves to other expedients. The most available of these is that of stability of prices under bimetallism. In the memorial recently addressed to Sir William Harcourt by the Bimetallic League, they asserted that so long as bimetallism was maintained through the action of France, "the standard of value was comparatively stable," whereas "it cannot be denied that since 1873, in some of the chief requirements which are expected of a standard of value, such, for instance, as stability, the single gold standard has lamentably failed." The London *Economist*, however, not only denies this, but supports its denial by facts and not by mere assertion. It points out that, according to Dr. Soetbeer's tables, the range of prices before 1873, as shown by the index number, was greater than it was after that date. This is corroborated by the tables constructed by the *Economist*. The fluctuation is recorded by Mr. Sauerbeck as for 1850, 77; for 1873, 111; and for 1890, 72. Thus, between 1850 and 1873, when bimetallism is asserted to have been causing stability of prices, there were actually wider fluctuations than in the period after 1873.

Sentiment among the Democrats of Iowa on the silver question has undergone a revolution during the past few weeks. From either advocating free coinage without qualification or maintaining silence on the issue, the editors of party newspapers have come to be almost unanimous in declaring for an adhesion in this year's platform to the financial plank adopted by the national convention in 1892, and for making the campaign on State issues. The Des Moines *Leader* recently asked the editors of the Democratic dailies what policy they thought should be adopted, and with a single exception the replies are against raising the silver issue. Most significant of all is the declaration of the editor of the leading German newspaper of the State, which says:

"Do not allow the party to commit itself to the Populistic theory of free and unlimited coinage of silver, for there are thousands of

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honest voters who can never be made to believe that 50 cents is equal to 100 cents, and I am certain not many German-American editors could be found who would undertake the task to teach their friends such a treacherous and deceitful kind of arithmetic."

While a number of the most prominent newspapers in the South have been on the right side throughout the financial controversy, there have been several States where the reverse was the case. It is a fact of great significance that some of these journals are now changing their position. Thus, in Tennessee the Nashville *American*, the old Democratic organ at the State capital, has recently abandoned the cause of free coinage. In Mississippi the Vicksburg *Commercial Herald*, which for years has been simply wild about silver, has recovered its sanity. In Arkansas the Little Rock *Gazette*, which was formerly for free coinage and latterly noncommittal, celebrated the anniversary of national independence by coming out strongly against the policy. Declaring that "the people of the United States want no money but the best," it says that "the farmers of Arkansas who have been laboring so hard for years in search of markets for their fruits and vegetables and other products, and who have just found them, could hardly be expected to sanction a radical change in the currency system of the country that would cheapen the dollars they are now receiving for their varied and valuable crops," and proceeds:

"Agriculturists in other States where interest in the general welfare of the nation has not been wholly abandoned feel the same way, and those who are Democrats will not lose sight of this fact when they instruct their delegates next year how to vote in the national convention of their party on a question to debase the finances of this prosperous republic. The instructions will surely not be in line with those dictated by the mine-owners of Colorado."

While such newspapers as the above-mentioned have changed to the right side, not one case has been reported of a change the other way.

Word comes from Kentucky that Senator Blackburn has so far recovered from the shock of the recent State convention as to "bow to the will of the majority." It is to be hoped that he may be left at home to do all his bowing in a private capacity, because there is no knowing what a man in his state of mind may do next. Bowing to the will of the majority in this case means merely that he will vote against the free coinage of silver, but it guarantees nothing as to his general financial policy. He may vote against any and every measure adopted or recommended by the Administration to maintain the gold reserve. It is probably true that he has no ideas on these subjects that are not liable to change on short notice—as short, for example, as that which has caused his present bowing to the will of the majority. The Senate needs men whose ideas are sound all the way through, like Senator Lindsay for example. The State of Kentucky wants a man of whom it can be said that "we always know where to find him." The late Mr. Lamar was such a man. Senator Caffrey of Louisiana, Congressman Patterson of Tennessee, Judge Brawley of South Carolina, Gov. Stone of Mississippi, Congressmen Cobb and ex-Gov. Francis of Missouri are all of this type, and we doubt not that ex-Gov. Buckner and Congressman McCreary of Kentucky belong in the same category. The South has plenty of such men if she only takes pains to find them.

Though prohibition makes no progress, there is in all parts of the country a growing sentiment in favor of such restrictions upon the liquor traffic as public sentiment will enforce. A notable evidence of this tendency is found in the new liquor law passed by the Indiana Legislature, which has just gone into effect. The principle of local option is one of its chief features, the majority of the voters of any ward of a city or election precinct having the power to prevent the establishment of a saloon within its limits by filing a remonstrance, and such remonstrance acts as a bar for two years. Another important feature of the law is the attempt to remove all attractions except liquor itself from the saloon. Neither games, nor music, nor slot machines, nor any other device for attracting patronage will be allowed; chairs and tables and lunch counters are forbidden. All places where intoxicants are sold must be situated upon a street or alley, and neither screens nor any other obstruction to a full view of the interior from the outside will be permitted. The liquor-dealers are going to contest the constitutionality of the law, but unless there are some technical defects not apparent on the surface, it is likely to stand.

The chief State issue in Iowa is the liquor question. The Republicans flattered themselves a year ago that they had got rid of it by the device of passing the so-called "mulct law," under which prohibition was not repealed, but localities were allowed to have saloons when a majority of the voters petitioned for their establishment. But the new law has not satisfied either the Prohibitionists or those who believe in a license system. The establishment of saloons under the protection of the law is a perpetual ground of offence to the extreme element on one side, while the rigorous requirements regarding signatures to petitions offend those who believe in a local-option system and a decision as to license or no license by a popular vote. In some cases only one more than a majority of the voters at the last election need petition to secure saloons, while in others 65 per cent. must sign their names. Then, too, controversies are possible as to the genuineness of signatures, and the saloons at Des Moines have just been closed pending the decision of a court that there were fatal irregularities in the petition. Moreover, the new Legislature must pass upon the question of resubmitting the prohibitory amendment. One feature of last year's compromise was the passage by the Republicans through its first stages of a resolution for that purpose, and now they must make up their minds whether or not to suppress it next winter. On both of these issues the advantage is with the Democrats, but the tide still sets so strongly against the party that nobody expects it to carry the State.

Governor Hastings of Pennsylvania has rendered a public service in following up a "campaign liar." While he was running last year for the office which he now holds, Frank J. O'Connor, a Democratic stump-speaker, accused him of most outrageous fraud, declaring that he was a bankrupt before he went to Johnstown at the time of the flood to take charge of the relief work, but that after his labors he erected a fine new residence and bought $60,000 worth of bonds. The accused candidate brought suit for libel against O'Connor, demanding $50,000 damages, and the case recently came to trial. The Governor's vindication was most complete. Gen. Beaver, who was Governor at the time of the flood, and appointed Hastings manager of the relief work, testified that every dollar of the funds handled had been properly expended and accounted for. The wretched O'Connor had no evidence whatever to present on the other side. Instead, he asked and was granted permission to plead guilty to having uttered a false and libellous charge, and the court allowed him to confess judgment in the sum of $3,000 in favor of the Governor. This verdict against a Democratic campaign liar happily supplements those secured by Van Ingen against Republican organs in this city that falsely accused him of having got a lot of "Cobden Club gold" in 1892 with which to help carry the election for Cleveland. We may now reasonably count upon a more decent standard of campaigning in the next Presidential canvass than was ever before known.

Boss Quay's telegram concerning the conduct of an ex-State Senator who had long followed in the Quay procession, is an apt expression of his sense of what is due to a boss. This State Senator, having decided to support before the next Republican convention certain candidates who are not supported by Quay, wrote a very friendly note to the latter announcing the fact. On receiving it, Quay was so shocked at this exhibition of human depravity that he immediately telegraphed: "This is the coldest-blooded mercenary stab I have encountered in this campaign of assassination." According to Quay's ideas this

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man was disloyal. It is rank disloyalty to disobey a superior to whom allegiance is due. Quay considers himself the superior, and all other Pennsylvanians who are not Democrats his vassals. This is not singular. It is one of the commonest errors in our political life that men who find themselves obeyed for a shorter or longer time come to think themselves overlords, and to fancy that they are living in the feudal ages. The singular part of it is that large numbers of their followers think the same thing. Having been put into some office by him, he and they suppose that they are under obligations to serve him the rest of their lives. If they ever had a soul, it has been given to him henceforth to keep and use as he pleases, and he knows just what to do with it every time. "Tell me, oh Q., what thou desirest me to do, and thou knowest that I will cheerfully do it!"—this is their usual prayer; nor has he ever been backward in making his will known. It is against this fearfully demoralizing leadership that the people of Pennsylvania are now rebelling. They are moving for their own freedom, and Quay calls it assassination. The prospect is that it will continue, and that so many persons will be concerned in it that it will eventually take the form of a public lynching.

The Republican legislators of Connecticut are no more eager for honest elections than were Platt's men at Albany. A very good corrupt-practices act was introduced in the Connecticut Legislature early in the session, as was the case in 1893, but, before it could be passed, the politicians went to work at it and cut out the provisions which threatened most harm to their trade. They cut out the limitations which were placed on campaign expenditures, and changed a provision which unseated a successful candidate who was convicted of violating the law, into one which merely fined him. As finally passed, the law compels sworn publication after election, by both candidates and committees, of all moneys received and spent in an election. By including campaign committees with candidates, the law is better than the Hill law in New York, but it is doubtful if it will amount to much in practice beyond giving a certain amount of publicity to expenditures. No machinery is provided for enforcing the law, and it is made nobody's business to see to it that it is enforced. In these respects it is like most of the other nine laws which are now in existence in as many States, none of which causes serious inconvenience to the politicians who get their living out of politics and "handle" the funds for elections.

The greatest credit is due Secretary Morton for the economies which he has effected in the management of the Department of Agriculture. At a period of acute financial and industrial distress, when hundreds of great corporations ceased to pay dividends or interest, and when concerns that remained solvent were obliged to practise the narrowest parsimony, Congress refused to consent to any material reduction in expenditure. Probably the gross income of the country during the last two years has been 15 if not 20 per cent. less in amount than usual, and under such conditions any considerable remission of taxation would have afforded relief and perceptibly increased comfort. But measures that involved reduction of expenses were resisted in the House and suppressed in the Senate. The frightful waste incurred in printing tons of matter that is never read remained unchecked, and the construction of commerce-destroyers went on apace while commerce was declining of itself. In the Department of Agriculture, Secretary Morton pointed out to Congress, great economies might be introduced, and he entreated that body not to compel him to waste the money of the people in utterly unnecessary expenditures. But his appeals fell on deaf ears, as indeed might have been expected when we reflect that Congressmen actually suppose that their constituents elect them for the sake of the packages of seeds they send out from Washington. Secretary Morton, however, seems to have after all succeeded in getting the better of the Congressmen. They wanted to have his department expend $2,500,000, and they thrust an appropriation of that amount upon the Secretary. In spite of this the expenses of the department have been kept down to about $1,800,000, saving nearly $700,000 to the people. Last year Secretary Morton succeeded in saving nearly as much. We doubt if any one could show that the decreased expenditure has caused the loss of a dollar to the country, directly or indirectly, and it must be regarded as so much clear gain. It does not sound like a large sum; but it amounts to the entire annual income of 2,000 poor families.

No better evidence that the public sentiment of the nation is turning against the Jingoists could be furnished than the fact that Ingalls of Kansas, who is again a candidate for the Senate, has come out strongly against their policy. Henry Cabot Lodge has been delivering himself afresh of his favorite ideas in favor of annexing Hawaii and Cuba, and a "vigorous foreign policy." Ingalls, on the other hand, declares that the notion of acquiring dependencies and colonial possessions, "to be governed like conquered provinces," is not consonant with our system; insists that "the Hawaiian episode is one of the most scandalous chapters in American diplomacy," and that "it is to the credit of the common sense of the American people that they have not yielded to this mercenary clamor, and that they perceive the absurdity of maintaining costly establishments upon a group of islands inhabited by an alien race 2,000 miles from our shores"; and in the course of his article says:

> "For these and many other reasons the 'Jingo,' the aggressive, domineering advocate of a swaggering foreign policy, has never been a favorite in American politics. The people instinctively recognize the limitations of a representative popular democracy and cannot be misled."

Of course everybody knows that Ingalls is every whit as great a demagogue as Lodge, and that he would not be restrained from being as blatant a Jingoist by any considerations of statesmanship. The significance of his protest lies in the fact that he has been studying public opinion.

The systems of duties established reciprocally by France and Switzerland have been suspended, and a commercial arrangement just concluded between the two countries which is by comparison much worse than the Wilson measure. Its chief importance lies in the fact that it is the first departure from the principle laid down by France that there should be no duties below those prescribed in the *minimum* tariff. The French were willing to grant the minimum tariff in 1892, but the Swiss insisted upon reductions below this scale, which the protectionists in the French Chamber refused to grant. Since that time the trade between the two countries has rapidly declined. While this was of course satisfactory from the protectionist point of view, it had nevertheless some unpleasant features. One of these was the circumstance that the amount of the duties collected by the French Government upon imports from Switzerland under the high tariff was only about half a million dollars more than would have been produced by the minimum tariff, while the duties collected by the Swiss were more than five times as large. Thus, according to protectionist logic, France was hurt five times as much as Switzerland. What was worse, the high tariff almost extinguished the export of a number of articles from France, the bulk of the exports coming to be of things upon which the duties were low. But, worse than all, the very goods which the Swiss formerly bought of the French they were found to be now buying of the Germans and Italians; and of course the political relations between these countries and Switzerland were thus rendered more cordial, while the estrangement with France was increasing. Even the French protectionists, who are more extreme than any others, appear to have concluded that in this case there was something wrong with the working of the system, and the new commercial arrangement reduces the duties imposed by France upon some thirty articles of Swiss production even below the rates of the minimum tariff. The whole episode is interesting to the advocates of free trade, and seems to call for more explanation on the part of the protectionists than it has hitherto received.

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SHORTER PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.

THE Liberal Government was defeated in the House of Commons on the night of June 21, two weeks ago last Friday. The resignations of the Ministers were presented to the Queen on Saturday night. Lord Salisbury was summoned to Windsor Castle on Monday, and promptly organized a new government. Parliament remained in session a few days to pass certain necessary bills over which no partisan contest was possible, and was prorogued last Monday. The first elections for members of the new House will take place in the boroughs on Saturday next, July 13, and the other members will be chosen within a fortnight. A month from the time when the Rosebery Ministry was defeated will suffice for the choice of a new House and the settlement of the question whether the Conservatives or the Liberals are to control the government.

Now that the politicians in the United States are already discussing how early in 1896 they can open the next Presidential campaign, and trying to push forward the time for the nominating conventions to May, it is well for Americans to consider the sharp contrast between our system and that which prevails in England. Nobody in England complains that the electoral campaigns in that country are not long enough to fully inform the voters on the issues, and yet they never exceed a few weeks. It is true that the English do not have our system of nominating through party conventions the opposing candidates for the position of chief executive, which would somewhat lengthen the canvass; but even allowing a month for that, the whole process would extend over only about two months.

National conventions were first held in the United States for the Presidential election of 1832. The first party in the field was the Anti-Masons, whose representatives met at Baltimore on the 26th of September, 1831, and named William Wirt for President. The National Republicans, as those were then called who afterwards became known as Whigs, nominated Henry Clay on December 12, 1831, and the Democrats followed on the 21st of May, 1832, endorsing Andrew Jackson for a second term unanimously, and putting up Martin Van Buren for Vice-President. The preliminary canvass for the election of 1836 opened still earlier, Van Buren being nominated as Jackson's successor on the 20th of May, 1835. The "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," campaign of 1840 was begun by the nomination of Harrison in a convention which met on the 4th of December, 1839. This was the last time that a Presidential candidate was named in the year before the election, and nearly all the subsequent conventions down to the civil war were held in either May or June. Since that time June has been the favorite month, though the Democrats have more than once postponed the choice of a candidate until July, and in 1864 did not meet until the end of August.

Two generations ago there were good reasons for an early opening of a Presidential campaign. The telegraph and the railroad were unknown, newspapers were few in numbers and small in circulation, and the modern appliances for promptly spreading information had hardly begun to be developed. If nominating conventions had not been held as early as the opening of the election year, it would have been difficult to make the scattered voters in the remoter regions fully understand the character of the candidates and the significance of the platforms upon which they stood. But we have changed all that. We live in an age of daily newspapers, of express trains, of electric telegraphs. People keep fully informed of the issues in a Presidential contest as they slowly shape themselves before the nominating conventions meet. The names of the candidates are known throughout the country within a few hours after the convention reaches its decision, and the platform is telegraphed in full to newspapers in even the most distant States. The canvass can therefore open within twenty-four hours after the meeting of the last convention.

Under such circumstances, to talk about holding a national convention in May, as some of the Republican managers are now doing, is the height of absurdity. Not a single argument based upon considerations of the public welfare can be urged in favor of the scheme. On the other hand, there are plenty of strong reasons against it. The people are opposed to such long campaigns. They are only wearied by attempts to stretch the excitements and distractions of a canvass over half a year. The scheme practically nullifies the value of a whole session of Congress. This body will meet early in December, 1895, and if Presidential nominations are to be made in the following May, legislative work will hardly begin before the politics involved in intrigues for the nominations will monopolize attention, and the public business will be neglected. Worst of all, a long campaign promotes corruption by furnishing an excuse for the managers to raise immense campaign funds that are not needed for honest purposes, on the plea of the great expense involved in carrying on a national contest for so many months.

Instead of holding Presidential conventions as early as May, they should be postponed until after the end of summer. Let a date early in September be fixed for the simultaneous choice of delegates in all the States, thus doing away with the schemes to help certain candidates unfairly by calling early conventions in States where they are strong; let the convention meet ten days later; and then let all hands turn in for a vigorous six weeks' campaign, ending with the election early in November. The people, the Government, the public morals would all benefit immensely by such a change.

THE UNSPEAKABLE MILLIONAIRE.

IT appears to be requisite to the complete and symmetrical development of human nature that it should be constantly furnished with some object of horror and reprobation. From the days of Gog and Magog down to the present time, no community has been so backward as to be unprovided with a bogy of some description, and indeed hardly any human being is so poor in spirit as not to be able to "view with alarm" some dangerous tendencies in the conduct of his neighbors. We have had our share of painful apprehensions in this country. There was dread of disunion and sectional strife in the first half of the century—alarm that was only too well founded, but that might have been more justly occasioned by the toleration of slavery. Since the Union was finally reconstituted, if we consider the lot of the other nations of the earth there does not seem to have been very much to worry about. But many minds are disquieted by visions of European aggression, and we spend the interest upon a thousand millions of money in maintaining a navy, in order to calm the nerves of those who cannot sleep for fear that England may get a foothold in Venezuela, or fasten the end of a telegraph wire to Hawaii.

But the most popular bugaboo at present is the outcome of prosperity. After the civil war was over, our people cheerfully set to work to get rich, and succeeded remarkably well. The condition of the poorer sort was greatly improved, and the general standard of living materially raised. But in the acquisition of wealth some succeeded a great deal better than others, and as it is easy to get richer when you are rich, their fortunes soon came to be large, and there came to be a good many of them. This was a consequence of prosperity which had apparently not been foreseen, and to the present generation it has become a positive nightmare. For a time the thunders of popular disapproval were visited upon rich corporations. These metaphysical entities were endowed with all the most dangerous of human passions, unrestrained by any human virtues, and have been most overwhelmingly belabored with every variety of abuse which the ingenuity of journalists and the zeal of demagogues could devise.

There has of late come some inkling into the popular mind that corporations are, after all, only legal fictions, and that what is real about them is their directors and stockholders. And as the wealth of a rich corporation may be owned by a large number of poor stockholders, including even the millions of depositors in our savings-banks, it has not seemed of late quite so popular a thing to denounce corporations indiscriminate-

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ly. The alarmists have in fact begun to suspect that they have been "barking up the wrong tree"; and they are now locating the true danger to our civilization in the existence of millionaires. It is they who ignore the rights of labor in their lust for gain; who crush the poor competitor with their gigantic capital and combinations; who invade the halls of legislation and seduce our guileless aldermen and our innocent legislators from the paths of stern integrity.

We confess that we were of late a little startled to find the *Saturday Review* turning against the millionaires. No journal could permanently maintain the pace set by such intellectual athletes as Stephen and Freeman, but we were hardly prepared for such a breach with its past as is involved in an attack upon accumulated wealth. It is commonly believed in England that a certain Mr. Vanderbilt of New York has just built himself a house in that city at the cost of $5,000,000. This, according to a writer in the *Saturday Review*, is a proceeding which the community has an "economic right" to be consulted about. Mr. Vanderbilt did not produce this sum that he has assumed to expend. Probably it would have existed even if he had never come into existence. If he had employed this money productively, it would have been all right; but his action involved "what may be called the petrifying of wealth—the fixing of it in an immovable shape." This is "to arrest the circular flow of wealth into labor, and labor into wealth again." Mr. Vanderbilt "has taken an extreme portion of wealth created by himself and society, and imbedded it in a form from which it is unlikely that anything like a corresponding use can be got." This is to be condemned.

Now as to the condemnation by private or public opinion of the conduct of this generic Mr. Vanderbilt in building this hypothetical mansion, we shall not concern ourselves. We may add that the economic reasoning above quoted is entirely sound. It simply illustrates the distinction between productive and unproductive consumption, familiar to every reader of Smith and Mill and Fawcett. Does it follow from this that the possession of property to the amount of a million dollars shall be prohibited or discouraged by law? Or can the Legislature devise statutes that shall prevent millionaires from spending their money unproductively? Shall they be forbidden to buy paintings to an amount in excess of, say, fifty thousand dollars, to pay more than five thousand dollars for a statue, or to have their books bound in anything but cloth? And if we can choke out the millionaire, will not all the same evils exist if we tolerate the possessors of a half-million, while the aggregate wealth of the community will be diminished?

The truth is, that dalliance with this notion that millionaires are a social curse and ought to be abated by law leads straight to communism. To the vast majority of the community the disparity between their condition and that of the man with ten thousand dollars seems as great as the disparity seems to the latter between his fortune and that of the millionaire. Outside of the towns, a man with a fortune of a hundred thousand dollars has far more influence and power in his community than a millionaire has in the city of New York. His unproductive expenditure is just as trying to his neighbors' peace of mind as that of Mr. Vanderbilt to the *Saturday Review;* and if we are to have any legislation on the subject, we may be quite sure that the people will not be satisfied unless it strikes well down to the ten-thousand-dollar limit. A late Chief Justice of Massachusetts was once approached by an inquisitive carpenter who lived near him, with the suggestion that it might cost him nearly $1,500 a year to maintain his family. The reply of the Chief Justice that he should be glad if he could get along on twice that sum, nearly paralyzed his humble neighbor, who could only gasp: "Why, Judge, that's wicked!" Such is the natural attitude of men towards any expenditure much in excess of their own. They feel that there must be something wrong in the constitution of society that permits such extravagance; but woe to the community that begins to legislate at the dictation of envy. That passion can never be gratified until every distinction or advantage gained by ability or virtue or even good fortune is done away with, and equality is attained by bringing all down to the level of the lowest.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

THE task of ruling her great Asiatic dependency, as every one knows, was not deliberately undertaken by Great Britain. The possessions originally acquired by a trading company became, in the course of time, too great to be governed by any power that was not sovereign, and when the responsibility had once been assumed it could not be laid down. It is common to hear the English rule denounced as illustrating "the lust of conquest," and to speak of it as forced upon the inhabitants of India without their consent. But no sober writer can deny that where England has for generations maintained unbroken peace, there would have been without her control incessant and internecine war, or that the lust of conquest would have been indulged to the last expense of Oriental ferocity. Under her rule millions of men and women have lived tranquilly and in comparative freedom who would have been slaughtered or enslaved had she withdrawn from India, and the country has gradually acquired many of the conveniences and comforts of modern civilization. If such government can be called oppressive, it must yet be admitted that any government that would have sprung up had the English not maintained their dominion, would have been far more so. The management of this great trust has been largely in the hands of Englishmen of the highest order of ability, and there are few communities in Europe that might not be glad to be relieved of their present rulers, if their legislation and general jurisprudence could be planned and moulded by Macaulay and Maine and Stephen.

Yet it has been felt as a reproach by many enlightened Englishmen that so many millions of their fellow-creatures should be held in such complete, even if beneficent, subjection. The steady extension of the suffrage in Great Britain has made the inconsistency of denying representative government in India more conspicuous, and of recent years the English Radicals have demanded some modification of this policy. At the same time the progress of education in India and the admission of natives to administrative positions under the Government, have created something in the nature of a public sentiment among the Hindus, and this sentiment has manifested itself in a demand that some voice in the government should be conceded to the subjects. The difficulties in the way of such a concession, it is easy to see, have been enormous, and complete self-government is, and will be for an indefinite time, out of the question. Nevertheless, some steps have been taken in this direction, and although the details are too technical to be here presented, the scheme may be stated in outline.

It is scarcely necessary to say that there is nothing "logical" about the plan adopted. It is not the English way to lay down a system of principles and endeavor to construct a body of institutions in harmony with them. The plan followed has been to make use of representative bodies already in existence, such as the municipalities and district boards, and to allow them to select such persons as they think will best represent their constituencies in the provincial Legislature. Thus, in the province of Bengal, with its seventy millions of inhabitants, the choice of the seven representatives whom it was decided to allow it to send to the legislative council was arranged as follows. The recognized divisions of Bengal are, and always have been, Calcutta and the country outside of Calcutta. As the correspondent of the London *Times* explains:

> "Calcutta is not merely the seat of the provincial and imperial governments in Bengal, its one huge emporium of trade and steam manufactures, and the outlet for its products; it is also the single university city of the province, the metropolis of its accumulated wealth, and the focus of the intellectual and political forces that are now at work among the educated classes. The Bengal plan of an electorate recognizes this fact, and assigns three of the seven representatives in its Legislature to the interests centred in the capital. The corporation of Calcutta elects one member, the Calcutta University a second, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta a third. The four other members are elected by

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the municipalities and district boards throughout the province."

But in order to distribute the representation with some regard to population and local area, a different district is taken at each election as the area to be represented. The result is, that the municipalities of each division of Bengal respectively send, once in eight years, a representative who sits for two years in the legislative council of the province. A similar method is applied to the rural divisions. The district boards, which somewhat resemble the county councils of England, are formed into eight groups. Two groups send a member every two years, and thus once in eight years each group sends a member who sits for two years. In this way the disturbance of a biennial election throughout the whole province is avoided, and the apprehended machinations of the Calcutta politicians are frustrated. The general result is, that an election occurs in every group once in four years; a member being chosen from the municipalities every eighth year, and one from the rural districts also every eighth year.

The method by which these electoral units select their representatives is that of the electoral college. Every municipality, or every district board, as the case may be, appoints one or more electoral delegates, according to its importance. These delegates are assembled at some convenient local centre by summons from the Government, and choose a representative by majority vote. It is true that elections so made have, strictly speaking, only the effect of nominations. The Lieutenant-Governor of the province has the power of appointment; but as a matter of course he appoints those who have been elected. It should be added that a large proportion of the legislative council is still made up of members directly appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

It is of course idle to forecast the future of this significant experiment. The consequences may be of the most far-reaching kind, or they may prove to be entirely nugatory. But so far the results have been unexpectedly gratifying. It had been feared that the representatives from Bengal might not be of high character, but as a matter of fact exactly those men were chosen who had long been recognized as the heads of the great interests of the province. Two Hindu nobles were chosen, two Hindu barristers, and a Hindu journalist. The others were a titled Mussulman and a British merchant. The Hindu representatives are with one exception Brahmans, representing every phase of Hinduism, from one "who spends a little fortune every morning in feeding Brahmans," to another "who educates his sons at Rugby and at Oxford, and divides his year between his house in Calcutta and that in Surrey." We see no reason why many of the advantages of representative government may not be obtained through this system of election. Democracy of course impossible in such a society as that of India, and the scheme of representation adopted seems calculated to secure the advantages of aristocratical government without its dangers.

ALASKA REVISITED.—II.

METLAKATLA.

JUNE, 1895.

ALL interested in missions to the Indians know of Mr. Duncan's famous settlement at Metlakatla, B. C., and how it was broken up by the senseless bigotry of those who "give tithes of anise and cummin," yet neglect the weightier matters of the law. Mr. Wellcombe's book containing the painful details was reviewed some years ago in the *Nation*. The strife was ended by the community abandoning their home and all their non-portable possessions and migrating in a body to Annette Island, Alaska, where, under their faithful leader, a new Metlakatla was established on the shores of the harbor of Port Chester. This island, an uninhabited wilderness up to the time of Duncan's settlement, now possesses the prettiest, most progressive, and successful native settlement on the whole Pacific Coast. Here first was electric lighting introduced into Alaska, the power being supplied by a mountain stream, which also runs a saw-mill and supplies the town with pure water. Neat cottages are ranged in orderly fashion, with good plank sidewalks and broad streets (from which, it is true, the stumps are not yet eliminated), school and church, the beginnings of a still larger place of worship, warehouses, workshops, an excellent pier of timber, and several neat sailing-vessels at anchor in the bay—all the property of the community. It is, as may be supposed, a sober, hard-working, self-respecting, and religious community, and, for greater security before the law, has been incorporated as an industrial association.

Mr. Duncan explained his system briefly to a party which called on him while the steamer discharged its freight. First, in his opinion, it was important to obtain a thorough knowledge of the native language, so as to be able to talk freely to the people and to convey to them new ideas on morals and religion without filtering them through the debased medium of the Chinook jargon so commonly used on this coast; then, having interested them in such matters, and convinced them that their material welfare must necessarily march with progress in spiritual matters, cleanliness, and the acquirement of knowledge, to remove them bodily from contact with the vices of the trading-post and frontier town. Isolation he considered imperative for the beginner in the new way, but the second generation, brought up away from contamination, he thought largely able to resist temptation and stand alone. This view is corroborated by the fact that many of the younger people go to mining camps, and even to Puget Sound, where their industrial training renders them useful, and come unscathed out of the trial. I had the pleasure of talking with one of them at Seattle, where he was employed as a sort of clerk on the steamer dock, and found him a bright, sensible fellow, talking English as well as any one about him, and apparently fully as well able to hold his own in any respectable community as any other young man of his age and training.

The original Metlakatlans were Chimsian Indians, but at Port Chester they have been joined by many other Alaskan Indians who have a desire to share in the prosperity of their new neighbors. Of a newcomer it is required that he absolutely renounce liquor of any sort, and agree to conform to the regulations by which the community governs itself, and to remain in the community until such time as he may be regarded as able to withstand temptation. He may go away at any time, if dissatisfied, but if he desires to stay, he must conform to the rules. He must take his part in the common village work, and live on friendly terms with those about him. Among other industries recently introduced by Mr. Duncan is that of curing and smoking halibut, which are very fine and abundant in the neighborhood. Our steamer took away a first shipment of some forty large cases of this delicacy.

The village is picturesquely situated on a good harbor, and is surrounded by a considerable area of level land, mostly forested, but, when cleared, showing a deep, rich black loam well suited for vegetables; several gardens were already tilled. In the background rise steep round-topped mountains, from which the water-supply is obtained. In 1891 Congress reserved the whole of this island for the use and occupancy of the Metlakatla Indians and such others as may hereafter join themselves to them for mutual improvement, subject to regulations by the Interior Department. Recently some traces of mineral veins have been discovered by prospectors on the east side of the island, and application has been made to the Department of the Interior for permission to conduct mining operations. Meanwhile it is stated that a party has landed without permission and proposes to hold a claim forcibly, on the ground that the language of the act does not specifically exclude miners, and that its intent was only to convey a tenancy external to the mineral rights. The latter assertion is, of course, erroneous, as every one interested knows that the intent was to secure isolation for the Indians, and keep out exactly those things which accompany mining camps. The Interior Department will doubtless refuse its permission; but, if there be any ambiguity in the law, or any doubt as to the duty of the authorities to exclude all intruders, all friends of the Indian should unite at the next session of Congress to have the defect cured. Otherwise the old sad story will be repeated, and the most hopeful experiment ever made with our Northwestern Indians is doomed to failure. I have reason to believe that the policy of the Interior Department in regard to the Indians of this region is all that the friends of justice could wish, but this policy should be backed up by public opinion.

It may be thought that disproportionate attention is here paid to a single mission when other praiseworthy and analogous establishments are to be found in Alaska. But all those familiar with the coast are aware that Mr. Duncan's work is unique, not only in its methods, but in its success. It is the only mission establishment on the coast which compels appreciation and praise from both friendly and unfriendly critics of missions. Every other sailor-man, miner, or fisherman one meets will have a growl about missions and missionaries in general, but I have never met one who did not, on further questioning, make a more or less willing exception in favor of the Metlakatla mission. That the churches have not accepted Mr. Duncan's methods is partly explained by the fact that the latter are really non-sectarian, though thoroughly Christian, on the side of religion; and that on their business side they require an unusual amount of good judgment and capacity for affairs, as

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well as a knowledge of business methods very rare among missionaries. I inquired of Mr. Duncan whether he thought the community sufficiently well advanced to hold its own in case he were suddenly taken from the work. He replied that he thought it could. I may add that rumors are frequently started, and even printed, to the effect that Mr. Duncan is about to leave his work, to retire with a fortune, etc.; but these may be ascribed to those to whom such action would be welcome, and who seek to weaken the public support the mission has heretofore received. It may be safely asserted that his place is with the people he has rescued from ignorance and sin, and that he does not dream of leaving them. In the willing service of the older men and the bright and intelligent faces of the young people, one may trace the affection he has inspired and the reward of his persistent labor. It seems almost incredible that the descendants in the third generation from untamed savagery should have developed into the intelligent manly and womanly young people we saw about us. That the agency instrumental in bringing about this change should be wrecked by public indifference and private greed would be a national disgrace. W. H. D.

THE LIBERAL OVERTHROW.

LONDON, June 28, 1895.

THE Liberals have been defeated, and a general election is imminent. To estimate the situation regarding Ireland, we must take a broad view of political events. In Irish affairs, the past and the present are near to each other. Half a century ago, in 1845, Ireland was acknowledged by liberal-minded politicians to require reform as to the Established Church, the Land, Local Government, and the Municipal Franchise. Disestablishment was not carried for twenty-four years, and then mainly in consequence of the attention drawn to Irish affairs by the Fenian conspiracy. No important land reform was effected until thirteen years later, after an agitation that shook Irish society to its foundations and led to extensive alterations in Parliamentary practice and procedure. The peculiar position of Ireland has been additionally emphasized since 1859, when in Great Britain the volunteers sprang to arms. It was then, and it has ever since been, considered unsafe to trust Irishmen in like manner with arms for the defence of their country. The year 1885 found Ireland behind the sister country in many respects, and in all those main reforms held desirable forty years previously which disturbance had not forced on British attention. Another and a more important reform, the concession to Ireland of national self-government, had all along been demanded by the Irish people. This was, in 1885, admitted to be just and necessary by Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party. Both British parties had come to declare their willingness to place Ireland in a position of equality with Great Britain in local affairs and internal administration. In 1886 the Conservatives succeeded to power. After a severe recrudescence of discontent in Ireland, they granted additional land reform, at the same time imposing upon Ireland the most drastic coercion act of the century, an act subjecting her to the almost arbitrary rule of whatever Lord Lieutenant might be in office, and which, moreover, was to be of perpetual application. No attempt was made at the reforms generally acknowledged to be required in Ireland. By the same Government, County Councils were instituted in Great Britain. Rent reductions in England to a greater extent than in Ireland were brought about voluntarily without suffering or legal process, by the force of public opinion, and through the good will English landlords bore their tenants. In 1892 Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals returned to power, pledged to remedy every Irish grievance and terminate the strife of centuries. The party of progress have loyally done their best. They have carried large and wide-reaching measures for Great Britain. For Ireland they carried a Home Rule bill in the House of Commons, and instituted valuable commissions of inquiry into the administration of the Irish Land acts and the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland, but they have *accomplished* nothing regarding home rule or great reforms considered necessary in 1845; they have not been able even to repeal the Coercion Act. As in Byron's time, "The castle still stands, though the Senate's no more."

Ireland, after all her hopes and strivings, has gained nothing. Great Britain could not have obtained what she has obtained without the help of the Irish members. Ten years ago Great Britain appeared overflowing with sympathy and enthusiasm for Ireland. Yet she saw almost without a murmur the Home Rule bill contemptuously thrown out by the Lords. Why has she become so apathetic? The Irish representatives, disappointed in their own hopes, have not shirked their duties at Westminster, where their attendance is far more difficult and onerous than that of British members. The *Daily News*, the acknowledged organ of the Liberal party, in commenting on Sir William Harcourt's valedictory speech, writes as follows: "His acknowledgment of the assistance he had derived from his political supporters would have been incomplete indeed if it had not included the Irish Nationalists, whose splendid fidelity to the Liberal cause in England and Scotland has never been surpassed throughout the history of political alliances." They have done in Ireland what the Liberals could not do in Great Britain—held their seats against all comers. Mr. Parnell, after having conferred on Ireland greater benefits than any other statesman within the century, proved himself to most Irishmen unreliable, and blasted his own reputation as his English enemies had failed of doing. At the election of 1892, the Irish people, through their representatives, by 72 to 9, declared against him. No people, even in the greatest crises of its history, has been homogeneous. The English and Scotch were divided in their allegiance between the Stuarts and the Hanoverians. Lincoln, in the throes of the war of the rebellion, was not elected unopposed. Irish differences are accentuated by the fact that in Ireland political majorities have no more power than minorities. In boards, councils, and corporations in Ireland where the majority has power to enforce decisions, business proceeds as smoothly as in other countries. Any tendency in the Liberals to retrocession regarding home rule on side pleas, such as Irish opposition to voting funds for a Cromwell statue, would have looked like repudiating obligations after having gained material advantages through Irish assistance.

The present supineness in Great Britain regarding Irish home rule can be accounted for only by the quiescence of Ireland and the steady opposition of Irish Protestants to the measure. Ten years ago, when British sympathy was at its height, Ireland was in a condition of semi-rebellion, with hundreds of excellent men, including the Lord Mayor of Dublin, M. P., and other mayors and members of Parliament in prison and treated as common malefactors, under summary processes of law unknown in Great Britain. Ireland is now quieter than ever before within the century. John Bull, while particularly sensitive to disturbances and suffering under his eyes, is singularly unable to enter into the feelings of others regarding grievances not apparent to him. On the other hand, British platforms are now thronged with Protestant delegations from Ireland, declaring that the concession of home rule would entail upon them at the hands of the Catholic majority disabilities and outrages like those inflicted on the Armenians by the Turks. Constituencies are flooded with men and women from Ulster whispering into the ears of their fellow-Protestants prognostications which there is no opportunity of openly combating. Were England Catholic, would she be more influenced by a Protestant majority or a Catholic minority in Ireland? This is, in truth, the *crux* of the Irish difficulty—Irish Protestants hold a position of domination over the Catholic majority; this position they cling to with desperate tenacity; they have a steady influence over British public opinion, which is broken through by the Catholic majority only in seasons of unrest and turmoil. Irish feeling abroad, on which Ireland formerly so unfailingly counted, besides having been discouraged by divisions in a once united party at home, is not, since the enactment of effectual land reform, maintained to the same extent as before by a constant accession of exiles burning with a sense of ill treatment from their landlords. Having been freed from an alien church establishment, and having obtained a measure of land reform, Ireland would now be incapable of another Fenian organization. Ireland, decade by decade, through depopulation, is weaker to wrest reform from the sister island. Since 1844 her population has decreased from 8,200,000 (44 per cent. that of Great Britain) to 4,700,000 (14 per cent. that of Great Britain).

The chances of home rule, which, ten years ago, appeared assured, are now uncertain. While the Liberals have never failed in ultimately making law any great measure which they had once carried to a second reading, no other such measure ever met such opposition as the Home Rule bill, and the feelings of the masses in Great Britain prove not to be deeply engaged in it. On the other hand, Ireland remains the only distinct English-speaking community in the world that has not practically the management of her own internal affairs. A central Parliament cannot legislate intelligently for the minute concerns of four different peoples numbering 40,000,000 as well as for a foreign empire of some 300,000,000 subjects. Ireland is, however, with the exception of the Province of Quebec, the only English-speaking country in which the race and religion that dominate in all other English-speaking portions of the empire are in a minority; in which settlers from England, retaining their historical traditions and their religion, have failed to impose their own creed upon and completely subject the native race. And in no other such country were greater cruelties resorted to or more strenuous efforts made to secure these ends. The home-rule idea carries with it the traditions not of the dominant but of the conquered and unassimilated people (whose capacity to resist is, however, no doubt largely due to the fact of their mixed race partaking of the steady qualities of their oppressors). In view of all these considerations, and of the determined opposition of Irish Protestantism adde

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to Irish bickerings and divisions, it requires some clearness and steadiness of political vision to perceive that home rule is the only means of obtaining union for common interests and harmonious coöperation in Ireland and between Ireland and Great Britain—of eliminating bitter memories, and raising Irishmen generally to responsible, self-respecting citizenship. The Salisbury-Ulster view of Irish affairs is based on the assumption that Irishmen are essentially and necessarily different from and inferior to others, that eternal unrest and enmity between Irishmen in Ireland and between the two islands is inevitable. The home-rule view is that this unrest and enmity will disappear when those principles of government are restored to Ireland which once worked well there and which succeed in other countries.

The immediate future cannot be forecast. The home-rule party is divided and apparently short of funds. The Unionist party in Ireland was never more spirited and compact, and is amply supplied with the sinews of war. The present influence of the Catholic Church, as a church, in both Great Britain and Ireland, seems to be against change. Agitation on purely home-rule grounds before home rule was amalgamated with the land question, was but scantily supported in Ireland. The Unionists profess themselves ready to settle the land question. National ideas are usually best supported in large civic centres. Ireland has few such. A permanent alliance between British Non-Conformists and Irish Catholics can hardly be expected. Irish voters will show wonderful perspicacity if the failure of the Liberal party to carry Irish measures does not increase the followers of Mr. Redmond, who has steadily maintained that, in adhering to the Liberals after the defeat of home rule, Irish members were following only a will-o'-the-wisp. The majority of the Irish members, in continuing to support the Liberal policy, showed their wisdom and foresight, but their action was peculiarly open to misconception and misrepresentation. Mr. Morley has manifested more real sympathy and greater capacity than any other Irish Chief Secretary. But he has not succeeded in settling the education difficulty or in governing entirely without packed juries, force at evictions, suppression of public meetings, or recourse to a statute of Edward III., obsolete in Great Britain. Trenchant Liberal criticism of Conservative arbitrariness in Ireland will be difficult. Whatever occurs, Irishmen will hardly consent permanently to lag behind their British fellow-subjects in government and administration. Once radical changes are attempted in the present centralized Castle system, it will be found almost impossible to proceed on other than home-rule lines, and without in some way enlisting on the side of law and order the abilities and the national sentiments of Irishmen. National feeling animated Irish Protestants when they depended not upon external force, but on the good-will of their fellow-countrymen. In most Irish Protestants, under present circumstances, such feeling appears dead. Is it not rather in abeyance? Would it not again assert itself under former conditions? D. B.

ITALIAN AFFAIRS.

ROME, June 18, 1895.

NOTHING could be more curiously indicative of the demoralization which political passion has produced in Italian affairs than the letter of "J. W. M." in the *Nation* of June 6, and the writer's evident blindness to the conclusion which must be drawn as to the hopeless degradation of Italian politics. "J. W. M." seems to have lost sight of the fact that political liberty in Italy runs to the extreme of an almost ungovernable license, and that moderate public opinion has been for a long time calling for a tightening of the bonds which secure society against anarchy. Under the administration of Signor Giolitti the social revolution had been allowed to plot and plan undisturbed until all the capacities of his Government were insufficient to control it, and all parties except the revolutionary had united in the call for Crispi as the only man in the country capable of restoring order.

Leaving out all differences of opinion as to the qualities of persons, and the larger questions of form of government, the misstatement of facts in the letter referred to is such as to call for rectification. The question of taxation by royal decree is an old and obscure one, but past governments have resorted to it for temporary purposes, and the decision of the Court of Cassation, which corresponds (as nearly as the system permits) to our Supreme Court, has decided that it is legal. It is a question of the imposition under pressing emergency of a tax which has to pass the ordeal of subsequent approval by the Parliament, and, in case of refusal to approve it, the amount of the tax collected has to be refunded. In this case the Parliament had approved the budget as a whole, and had adjourned before all the items of the provision had been voted, though they had been accepted by implication. Only those taxes were applied which had been so included in the approved scheme, and all the subsequent propositions of the Minister of the Treasury were suspended until passed by the Parliament. On the reconvocation of Parliament it became evident that the Radicals were determined to prevent the Chamber from doing any business as long as Crispi remained in the Government, and the sittings were a continuation of scandals and violence such as I have never seen in that most disorderly of all assemblies, so that day after day was passed without a single item of business being transacted. On the last day the violence was such that the Deputies actually came to blows in the lobbies, and the next day there was a largely expressed determination to go to the Chamber armed, and, by the testimony of well-informed witnesses, there was danger of actual fighting. The Chamber was prorogued to prevent violence.

This measure had been prepared for several days before on account of the general condition of the atmosphere of the Chamber, but the subsequent acute state of storm developed by the Giolitti *plico*, now seen to be the concoction of the most disgraceful conspiracy this land of conspirators has ever hatched, made it impossible to go on. The meeting in the Sala Rossa was a convocation of all the leaders of the Opposition and their flocks, to the number of about 150, to devise measures for compelling Crispi to resign and meet the charges contained in the Giolitti *plico*; and in that meeting it was determined to carry on that agitation in the Chamber. The Senate, meanwhile, had examined the *plico*, and pronounced it unworthy of attention, and it was clear to everybody that the use sought to be made of it in the Chamber was simply factious. Under these circumstances the Government declined to reconvoke the Parliament until signs of a better disposition should appear. But that Chamber was hostile to Crispi—had been elected under Giolitti, and by an amount of illegal pressure never known before in the history of Italian Parliaments, except in the case of some by-elections under Nicotera; and the general feeling of the country having long before demanded its dissolution, this would have been decreed but for the troubled state of the country following the insurrectionary movements in Sicily and Lunigiana, and the impossibility of holding elections in the provinces where martial law existed.

The Ministry finally decided to dissolve, but, as the Parliament during its sane moments had passed a law to purge the electoral registers of all the illegal inscriptions (which in some districts were nearly half the entire registration), it was considered indispensable to await the result of this operation. The insinuation that this was a pretext is without a shadow of justification, for delay told against the Government more than in its favor, and Crispi repeatedly and continually urged the prefects to hurry the operations. But these were not carried on by the prefects, but by the communal and provincial councils, with final revision by the Court of Cassation, so that the Ministry is absolutely precluded from exercising any influence on the register. Those local authorities are very slow, and it was only possible, with all the urging of the Ministry, to get the registration completed and revised in time to hold the elections in the month of April, as intended, and they were even very irregularly made on the 26th of May, many of the functionaries created for the purpose of supervising them being still ignorant of their duties. The "half a million" voters struck off the list were there illegally, and were struck off by the operation of the law and without the slightest intervention of the Ministry. The delay had nothing to do with the action against Giolitti, and was injurious only to the Ministry, especially to Crispi, as delay in convoking the new Parliament endangered his getting a vote on supply before the end of the financial year, which would have doubled all his embarrassments and made the collection of the taxes impossible. Throughout the whole affair Crispi acted in the strict observance of the law as interpreted by the courts, though he did what he had a right to do, taking the full advantage of the law. Even the heads of the Opposition admitted that he kept to the letter, though they accused him of violating the spirit of the law. The Court of Cassation, by the way, did not decide that Giolitti could only be tried by the Senate, but that the Chamber of Deputies must decide how he should be tried—by the ordinary tribunals or by the Senate.

The accusations regarding the disclosures regarding Crispi are equally unjust; all that was shown was, that one of the provincial journals had been subsidized by the prefect of the province to the amount of $100 a month, whether for such services as he had a right to pay for or not. Nor is there any evidence of money being spent to prevent the election of Imbriani, and, as I happen to know, Crispi would be very sorry to see him excluded from the Chamber. In the recent elections the universal order to the prefects was to indicate to the electors which were the candidates whose election was favored by the Government, as is the invariable system in a country where there is no party organization and the only difference is that one party opposes and the other supports the Ministry; but the severest orders were given to do nothing to interfere with the freedom of the election, and I hear from the most authoritative and impartial prefect of my personal acquaintance that there has never been in his recollection an election in which

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that freedom was so complete. There have been cases in which the prefect used more than the legitimate influence in favor of one or the other candidate, but not in all cases for the official candidate.

The graver question of "numerous unhappy prisoners arrested illegally and sent to Port Ercole" must be answered in a severer manner. The law of "domicilio coatto," or confinement in limits, of people who are reasonably accused of belonging to illegal organizations or criminal attempts, is very old, and has been applied by all governments since 1860, and by Nicotera was made the instrument of punishing political opponents. The only ameliorations to it are those made by Crispi, in 1889, and in the last Parliament. By the last amendment the Department of Public Security is absolutely deprived of the power of arbitrary imprisonment, and the persons arrested under it are judged by a commission of the various judicial and executive authorities without a jury. The first condemnation passes to an appeal to a provincial commission, and this to revision by the Minister of the Interior —in this case, Crispi. The only part Crispi has had in these condemnations has been the annulling of all those which he had any doubts about, and this he has very largely exercised. No prisoner has been condemned illegally, and if they have been maltreated in the prisons, it has been by the brutality of the jailers, who have been in the cases known removed. But to some people any political offender, even in the regimen of the completest political liberty, is an innocent victim of tyranny.

The case of Signor Marescalchi was simply this: Marescalchi was an employee of the Ministry, whose special function was that of representing the police in the examination. He was, in fact, a sort of public accuser, and his business was to prosecute; the commission as a whole judging and condemning or acquitting, as the case might be. Marescalchi volunteered the defence *en bloc* of the accused before the commission to which he was delegated without waiting for the evidence. For this he was reproved by his direct superior. He replied by an impertinent letter and the publication of the official correspondence in one of the Radical papers, which is a criminal offence. As it was impossible for him to remain in the same office with this superior whom he had insulted, the head of the department, Commendatore Sensales, transferred him to another and not remote district. He refused to go where he was sent, and resigned in another insolent letter, on which Crispi refused to accept his resignation, and dismissed him from the service, not for anything he had done on the commission, but for insubordination. No "perfectly innocent man because a Socialist" has been imprisoned, but for the advocating of the violent propaganda, as it is called, of the social republic, a number have been. Nor has any man been imprisoned for his opinions, but, when imprisoned, it has been for the method of propagating them.

Crispi has not "posed" his candidature in twenty or even six colleges, but, as he was attacked in person, and especially by the Opposition and the scandal-mongers, he was, with his approval, proposed in several colleges, especially Palermo and Tricarico, his old constituencies, Naples and Rome as great centres of public opinion; and he was put up without consulting him in five others by his friends, and voted for in two or three others incidentally and as the expression of enthusiastic admirers outside of any movement. The only one of his colleagues in the Ministry who was nominated in more than one college was Boselli. The governmental organization for the elections was so very incomplete that in many colleges there was no Government candidate put up till two or three days before the election, and in others there was none. In closing, let me remark that the "programme of the Piedmontese opposition" was repudiated by the Piedmontese people, who sent most of them about their business, and sent a strong ministerial delegation to the Chamber of Deputies. W.

Correspondence.

ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Anthropology has become one of the acknowledged branches of university studies in America. It is many years since Sir Daniel Wilson introduced the study of it in the University of Toronto. The University of Pennsylvania has long had an anthropological department in charge of Prof. Daniel G. Brinton. At the time of the foundation of Clark University in Worcester the department of Anthropology was established as one of the subdivisions of the department of Psychology. At Harvard, anthropological instruction has been given for a long time by Prof. F. W. Putnam, and a separate department was founded in 1892. At the same time an anthropological department was introduced at the University of Chicago as one of the subdivisions of the department of Political Science. During the last two years the University of California has established an anthropological department, and Columbia College of New York has included courses of lectures on this subject in its curriculum. In all these universities the science of Anthropology is taught successfully. To these institutions may be added numerous universities of Europe in which Anthropology is taught: first of all Paris, with its École d'Anthropologie; then Rome, Munich, Leipzig, Berlin—to mention the most important schools only.

Notwithstanding these facts, the University of Oxford in Convocation declined the proposed establishment of an anthropological department, on the alleged ground that this science is not capable of being taught! As a matter of fact, Anthropology as a branch of university education was recognized at Oxford in 1883 by the appointment of the eminent scholar Dr. E. B. Tylor, as a University Reader. In 1883 the University accepted the gift of the Pitt-Rivers collection, and in 1892 appointed a curator. A large collection of material adapted for the teaching of Physical Anthropology was formed by the late Prof. Rolleston, which has been added to since, and is now available for this branch of study. In 1885 Anthropology was admitted as an additional subject in the Final Honour School of Natural Science. This recognition was, however, rather formal than real, as the scope of the subject is too wide for it to be taken as an extra subject. During this time a considerable number of students have attended lectures and profited by the museum collections. The annual expense involved in this mode of instruction amounts approximately to $6,000.

These facts make the attitude of Convocation still more curious. We should expect that the practical bearings of Anthropology, if nothing else, would appeal to the members of the University. The great importance of the study to officers of the colonial service would seem evident. It is their duty to deal with people whose customs and beliefs form the subject-matter of anthropological instruction. Upon their proper treatment depends the welfare of colonists and of aborigines. The University is so blind to these facts that the lack of practical bearings of the study was brought forward as one of the reasons against the establishment of the department. In Holland and in Germany, on the other hand, officers of the colonial service are expected to attend anthropological courses before entering upon their duties.

As a matter of fact, the opposition to the measure was founded on the deep-seated theological aversion to the scientific study of man. A great many curates were brought in to vote against it, and I am assured that by this means the vote of 68 against 60 by which the proposition was lost, was secured. Thus England is still without an adequate representation of Anthropology in its universities, and Oxford has missed the chance to be the first to take this step, which must be taken, sooner or later, if English universities desire to keep in the ranks with the advance of science. To us the theological opposition is a reminder of bygone times when the results of the study of the manners, customs, and beliefs of man were ill understood. The aims of Anthropology are better appreciated in America, and many are the theologians whose contributions to the advance of this science we should be loath to miss.

Franz Boas.

London, June 20, 1895.

Notes.

Brentano's has begun a series of translations from the French, under the title of "Modern Life Library," and the editorial supervision of M. Henri Pène du Bois. "Gyp's" 'Mariage du Chiffon' will figure as 'A Gallic Girl.'

The John L. Boland Book Co., St. Louis, have in press 'Electricity and Magnetism,' a mathematical treatise by Prof. Francis E. Nipher.

Dr. Henry C. McCook will once more invest with a literary interest his natural-history researches, this time among spiders and other insects, in 'Old Farm Fairies: A Summer Campaign in Brownieland against King Cobweaver's Pixies,' which will be published next week by George W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia.

The New York Shakspere Society will begin during the present summer a printing of the Five-Text Hamlet, folio, *de luxe*, Bankside style.

The Putnams, as the American agents of the English publishers, H. Grevel & Co., have brought out a new (fourth) edition of Maspero's 'Egyptian Archæology,' which is designated as a manual for the use of students and travellers. The original work and the translation by the late Amelia B. Edwards have been before the public about eight years, and full recognition has been accorded to their merits as to accuracy, fulness, and attractiveness. It were impossible to find a more competent writer or a more sympathetic translator. The present edition has all the admirable features of the earlier, and some others in addition, viz., ten new illustrations, showing recent discoveries such as those of Petrie and Naville, or setting forth the text more fully; some very

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welcome alterations from the outlandish spelling of proper names taken from Murray's Handbook; explanatory titles to all illustrations; minute page captions, and an index covering twenty-two double-columned pages. Besides, the author has revised the text, and has made changes in the views expressed where it was necessary in order to bring them into accord with recently discovered facts. The pages are of equal contents, but they have narrower margins, and their total number has been increased by thirty. Naturally the use of the cuts in four editions has not improved them, and in the present instance some of the fine lines have been broken down. For the use of travellers a thinner paper might have been employed to advantage.

Dr. J. R. Cooke's 'Hypnotism' (Boston: *Arena* Publishing Company) is a fairly good exposition of this form of nervous disturbance. For suitable cases hypnotism is a reasonable remedial agent; in unintelligent hands it is objectionable, if not dangerous.

Dr. W. R. Dawson of Dublin has rendered pathologists good service by translating Dr. Anton Weichselbaum's 'Elements of Pathological Histology' (Longmans). The obscurity and prolixity of style that so often encompass German science are absent. The book is clear and concise, and the English is excellent. It has been prepared with special reference to practical methods, and it gives the help of eight plates and many illustrations.

The republication in two volumes of 'The Federalist, and Other Constitutional Papers,' edited by E. H. Scott, deserves little notice from the scholar, though the preface announces that the work is specially intended for that class. The text of 'The Federalist' is that of the Philadelphia edition of 1818, which seems an unnecessary reversion, after Mr. Dawson's labors had made the true text so easily obtainable, and the editor assigns the authorship of each number according to that edition, though his preface shows that he is well aware that it is inaccurate. The second volume is a reprint of a part of the material contained in Paul L. Ford's 'Pamphlets on the Constitution' and 'Essays on the Constitution,' with not much care for typographical accuracy, and the whole work will hardly supersede the editions of 'The Federalist' as edited by Dawson or Lodge, nor Mr. Ford's volumes, though its greater cheapness may tempt the undiscriminating.

The June number of the *Portfolio* is devoted to Antoine Watteau, and the text is by Claude Phillips. There is nothing specially novel in it, either as to biographical fact or criticism, but it gives in a handy form the little that is known about this "greatest of little masters," as Mr. Phillips felicitously calls him, and a fair appreciation of the quality of his art. There is more freshness in the illustrations, and the photogravure of the Berlin version of the "Embarquement pour Cythère," which will be new to most readers, is especially welcome. One is only inclined to regret that the Louvre picture, though so well known, was not also reproduced, if only in outline, for immediate comparison with the more elaborate if less spontaneous production. Welcome, also, is the half-tone plate after the lovely "Amour Paisible" of the royal collection at Potsdam—a picture permeated in an unusual degree with the Giorgionesque charm which lifts Watteau's best work so far above the level of his century.

Mr. Abbey's much-talked-of series of decorative paintings for the Boston Public Library—"The Quest of the Holy Grail"—are reproduced in half-tone on a liberal scale and published in a thin oblong volume by R. H. Russell & Son with explanatory text. Mr. Abbey's talent as an illustrator has not deserted him in this work in a more ambitious field, and his designs are admirably suited to black-and-white reproduction. In this form they will be seen and admired by many who will never see the originals, and their fulness of incident, richness of detail, and wealth of characterization are likely to give them a far wider popularity than would fall to the lot of paintings more closely adhering to the purely decorative tradition. We do not know who is responsible for the text, but the first sentence of it is somewhat startling. "The British race," it begins, "to which we primarily belong, the leading nation of the great Celtic family"; and reference is made later to the "racial pride" which renders the Arthurian legend specially suited to "the decoration of a great library built by a people of British race." There are undoubtedly a great many Celts in Boston, and we are aware that in the modern view the Britons were by no means so absolutely supplanted in Britain as used to be thought the case; but we were still under the impression that the English, and by consequence the New Englanders, are primarily Angles and of Teutonic stock.

Mme. Jeanne Rival's 'Annexés' (Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.) will have little interest for readers other than patriotic Frenchmen. To these the story of major and minor persecutions to which Alsatians are subjected by their German conquerors will no doubt appeal strongly. To others, however, the very commonplace subject, the commonplace treatment of it, the dull, fatiguing style, and the total failure to excite interest in either the admirable French or the execrable Germans, will suffice as an excuse to put down the book for good and all before many pages have been read.

Capt. Émile Simond's 'Le Capitaine de La Tour d'Auvergne' (Paris: Perrin & Cie.) is a well-meant effort to clear away from the historical figure of the "first Grenadier of the Republic" the mist of legendary tales which threatens to obscure its real traits. The book is not well written and is fatiguing to read; the clearing away is done effectively, but no very distinct impression of the man remains. This is a pity, for the life and deeds of La Tour d'Auvergne-Corret easily furnish material for a brighter and more interesting volume even with strictest adherence to veracity. Such as it is, however, this biography repays perusal, and will be referred to for information.

The *Geographical Journal* for June contains an account by Mr. A. P. Low of extensive explorations made in the interior of Labrador during 1893-'94. A great part of the region traversed was barren, apparently from the frequent forest fires. In the southwest the larches were all dead or dying from the ravages of the imported European larch gad-fly. A possible source of wealth is the fish, principally trout, land-locked salmon, whitefish, and carp, which swarm in the rivers and lakes. Prof. Chamberlain concludes his paper on the Luchu Islands with a description of the language, which, he says, is related to the Japanese much as Italian to the French. There are also accounts of an expedition to the Taita Highlands in East Africa and of Mr. Borradaile's explorations in northern Mongolia. Referring to the principal industry of the inhabitants of this region, the caravan trade, principally in tea, between Russia and China, he remarks that this will entirely cease on the completion of the Siberian Railway. A curious incident in the journey was the seeing the sacred Buddhistic formula, "Om mani padme Hom," written in white stones on the turf of a hillside. An interesting sketch of a recent whaling voyage in the Antarctic Ocean is given by a Mr. Borchgrevink, who shipped as a seaman in order to make scientific observations.

The American merchants who send rum to Africa will welcome a defender of this traffic in Sir Gilbert Carter, the Governor of Lagos. In two letters to the London *Times* he practically denies the familiar and well-founded charge that the admission of spirituous liquors under the present system of low duties is increasing native drunkenness to an appalling extent and is shutting out all other European goods and manufactures. He claims that the reports of the missionaries in regard to the native demoralization are exaggerated, that the gin itself is "not a poisonous, unwholesome compound, as some aver, but a safe and palatable stimulant, if properly diluted," and that the money obtained from the duty on spirit is necessary for carrying on the government. He also shows that the value of the gin and rum imported into Lagos in 1893 was only £93,508, "while the value of other imports amounted to £749,027," and that a similar proportion existed in the colonies of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. In entire conformity to these views is his novel and cynical assertion that the best remedy for the gin disease lies, not in the prohibition of its importation, but "in the encouragement of the Mohammedan religion," which commends—but does not enforce—temperance to its votaries. We have much satisfaction in believing with the *Times* that Sir Gilbert stands nearly alone among African administrators in upholding a traffic which is the twin curse, with slavery, that a Christian world has forced upon the Dark Continent.

Among the jewels found by M. de Morgan in his excavations in the pyramids of Dahshûr, an account of which he has recently published in *Le Monde Moderne*, are three pectorals. Upon them are figures of men and birds and the cartouches of three monarchs of the XIIth Dynasty (from 2466 B.C.). The signs of the latter are made of "cornelian, lapis-lazuli, and turquoise, set in gold; the other figures are likewise set with precious stones." The workmanship is said to be admirable both in its delicacy and in the perfection with which the precious stones are set. They are far superior in every respect to the similar jewelry of the Rameses period a thousand years later. It is certainly one of the strange facts in the history of the human race that, "in the case of the Egyptians, the further we look back, the higher we find their culture."

The most noteworthy fact in the forty-third annual report of the Boston Public Library is that "the growth and circulation of the Central Library" in the year 1894 "have been greater than in any preceding year in the history of the institution." The additions include some collections of rare value, as, the President John Adams Constitutional library, numbering 3,368 volumes, the gift of Charles Francis Adams; the A. A. Brown musical library, 6,686 volumes, of which Mr. W. F. Apthorp gives a characteristically interesting description; and the remarkable collection of historical manuscripts and autographs contained in 154 volumes, the gift of Judge Mellen Chamberlain. The removal into the new quarters permits the placing of some 40,000 volumes, a perfect reference library, where the public can freely use them, a bold experiment, which there can be little doubt will be entirely successful. The report of the examining commit-

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tee closes with an enthusiastic, though rather grandiloquently expressed, eulogium on the new building.

The recent purchase of the library of the late Prof. Rudolf Hildebrand of Leipzig by the Stanford University, California, has added one of the most valuable collections of Germany to the constantly growing book treasures of our country. Prof. Hildebrand was one of the greatest of contemporary linguists, the foremost of the continuators of Grimm's 'Wörterbuch,' and his library, of course, contains his extensive working material, comprising the entire field of lexicography—the latter consisting of 333 rare numbers—and of German literature from the earliest times to the present day. His collections in the domain of the literature on Goethe and on the Volkslied were so famous that only for lack of special funds the German Government and the Goethe-Schiller Archives of Weimar were prevented from acquiring them. Nearly all of the 10,000 volumes contain extensive and most instructive notes in Hildebrand's own hand—a feature which greatly increases the value of the library for the students of German literature and philology.

—Our readers were promptly apprised of the inception of the new quarterly *American Historical Review* in April last, as one of the latest fruits of coöperation among our universities. It will be remembered that at the conference held in this city on the above date, an editorial board for the first year was chosen,—consisting of Profs. George B. Adams of Yale, Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, Harry P. Judson of Chicago, John Bach McMaster of Pennsylvania, William M. Sloane of Princeton, and H. Morse Stephens of Cornell. This board has appointed Prof. J. Franklin Jameson of Brown managing editor; arrangements for publication have been made with Macmillan & Co., and the first number will be issued on October 1. The Association of Guarantors appears to be sufficiently large to justify a beginning, but it will doubtless bear extension; and any one may join it by pledging $5 a year for three years (the annual subscription price of the quarterly is $3), and as much more for the term mentioned as may be affordable. Two hundred pages will be devoted to leading or body articles, embodying "the latest and most important results of historical science"; inedited documents of value, especially relating to American history; reviews, signed and unsigned; and historical notes and news. The *Review* will not deal with "discussions of present conditions or problems in political, social, or economic life, except as a part of studies tending to show historically how things came to be as they are." Prof. Sloane will write the introductory article for the first number, which will contain also articles on Count Edward de Crillon, by Henry Adams; the Loyalists of the American Revolution, by Prof. Moses Coit Tyler of Cornell; and State-Making in the West, 1772–1789, by Prof. Frederick J. Turner of the University of Wisconsin. Among documents, there will be letters of Col. Wm. Byrd of Westover, Va., on slavery and indented servants, interesting letters of John Marshall, Theodore Foster, and George Rogers Clark, and a contemporary diary concerning the battle of Lake Erie. On this enterprise, as on a need of long standing, all cultivated Americans must look with friendly eyes and large expectations. It only remains to add that the managing editor's address is No. 196 Bowen Street, Providence, R. I., and that the secretary and treasurer is Prof. A. B. Hart, No. 15 Appian Way, Cambridge, Mass.

—Although there is no dearth in this month's *Atlantic* of valuable matter of serious import, even the serious reader will be likely to pause and muse over the clever piece of fiction, or fictitious excerpt from real life, which occupies a central place among its contents. The hero of "A Philosopher with an Eye for Beauty" has for recording angel a philosophic student of human nature with an eye for its weak points, and a dangerous habit of stopping to moralize in mid-career of his narrative. The danger of the habit happens, however, in this particular case to be fully neutralized by a fortunate conjunction of style and humor, which, added to the philosophy of life and a turn for epigram, place the story upon the footing of the literature that will bear rereading. To poetry of a similar rank belongs Mr. Van Dyke's happily inspired "Song of the Veery." The simplicity, easy flow, and spontaneous sentiment of these verses can hardly fail to secure them a place in the slim anthology which the fastidious reader culls for himself from among contemporary verse-makers, while it is even possible to imagine them translated, without desecration to the latter, to a modest place among the classic lyrics of the English songsters. Also well built on lines of argument adapted to further the end in view is the paper, by Henry J. Fletcher, on "A National Transportation Department." Need for such a department of government in the threefold interest of shareholders, employees, and "the general body of the people who use the railways and waterways in trade and travel," is urged as manifest from recent and current experience, and the functions of its proposed judicial and executive officers, in expounding and enforcing an intelligent code of laws, are outlined in contradistinction to the "anomalous dual character" of the present commission. Mr. Fletcher's definition of crime in an employee involves the far-reaching principle that "the public has a right to require the man who has once assumed a duty to proceed with it until he can lay it down without direct and necessary injury to the public."

—By no means so distinguished as this contemporary in its mass, the current *Century* has for noticeable feature one of the papers of distinction which, let editors covet them as they will, opportunity makes rare. Personal reminiscences of Robert Louis Stevenson, as youth and youthful unknown author, have in them of necessity the making of delightful reading. Mr. Gosse's paper has all the air and charm of its having been to him a labor of love to give an impression of "the most inspiriting, the most fascinating human being that I have known," and the gracious, inconsequent "Louis" of his pages fully makes good the large promise of this opening sentence. Mrs. Burton has managed to make out a fair though conventional and artificial case for her "American Rural Festivals"; a truer rustic ring is, however, to be found in Arthur Lawrence's "Bryant and the Berkshire Hills." A translation of a Japanese life of Gen. Grant, with Japanese illustrations, is curious, and Mrs. King's and Mrs. Van Rensselaer's stories are each in its way a good one. Brander Matthews treats with pleasant dilettanteism of "Books in Paper Covers," the interesting illustrations of which will no doubt pasture the eyes of an increasing class of amateurs.

—The waxing general interest in this last and its related topic of artistic posters is further attested by the most conspicuous article of the month in *Scribner's*, where M. H. Spielmann specializes his branch of the subject by limiting it to "Posters and Poster-Designing in England." Failing an exhibition of pictorial posters, such as Paris and London have already seen (the latter in the Aquarium last autumn), the curious in this country may apparently rely on the magazines to give them a telescopic view of the international achievements of art in the service of commerce. So far as concerns the work of the newer Englishmen in this department—Anning Bell, Wilson Steer, and Beardsley—and of the older ones—Frederic Walker, Crane, and Herkomer—a better résumé than this could hardly be asked; it is merely an instance of the usual contradictory tendencies in the affairs of men that while the eye is more and more outraged by the disfiguring inroads of advertisements, artists are multiplying their endeavors to prove that "real beauty" may be spread broadcast in the artistic poster. "Life at the Athletic Clubs," by Duncan Edwards, belongs to the better class of "writing up" of popular themes. Otherwise, apart from Mrs. Humphry Ward's finding of a verdict in the case of Bessie Costrell, delivered at the hand which might have been expected to avert its extremity, the level of *Scribner's* is flat.

—In *Harper's* the intrusive vulgarity of rural advertising is, for the nonce, turned to a good account as the motive of a short story by Margaret Sutton Briscoe (Mrs. Hopkins), in which the commonly overlooked value of mother-wit, if merely as material for brightening fiction, is shown to lively advantage. Attention will be centred, however, upon Poultney Bigelow's brilliantly executed study in German history. Mr. Bigelow has contrived a happy method of showing the social condition of the court and people of Prussia, on the eve of the battle of Jena, by means of vivid sketches of individuals, including one of the ever-attractive Königin Luise. He presents a wholesome corrective to the Napoleon-worship of the hour by showing how a field may be won as much by the supine folly of the vanquished as by the skill of the victor; and there will be few who will read his thoughtfully planned account of Jena without gaining a clearer mind in regard to some of the ups and downs of warfare in general. Assent will be sure to follow upon Owen Wister's conclusion to his paper, "Where Charity Begins," that "you must reach the vagrant at the dawn of his day, before he has walked the streets too long, before they have taught him too much." But his pretty bit of feminine logic, "I would not go a month without this self-indulgence" of putting a hand in pocket for the passing beggar, is capitally illustrative of the wavering mind of the charity of the day, which is bent upon doing away with the youthful vagrant by all means except the effectual one of stamping out his propagator.

—M. Frantz Funck-Brentano seems in a fair way to win for himself a name as a legend-killer. He has already grappled with the mystery of the Man in the Iron Mask, and he has lately attacked the long-prevalent belief in the sale of blank lettres de cachet under the old régime. This legend has had the support of many historians. It passed unquestioned into the works of Michelet, Rambaud, Duruy, and into the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' M. Rambaud, perhaps, gives the story best and most concisely. He says, in his 'Histoire de la Civilisation Française,' that any person of in-

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fluence could obtain "lettres de cachet in which the name was kept blank, and could write in the name of his personal enemy, his rival, his creditor. Under Louis XV. they could be had for money. La Vrillière, when he was minister, made a business of selling them through the Countess de Langeac; they came to be sold by his lackeys. It cost only twenty-five louis to have any one arrested." Duruy tells a piquant story of a husband and wife, each of whom solicited a letter of which the other was to be the beneficiary. Both succeeded, and both were disagreeably surprised at the result, for both were shut up on the same day. M. Funck-Brentano himself had no doubt of the correctness of the story at the time when he was put in charge of the archives of the Bastile. These archives contain not only the dossiers of the prisoners of the Bastile itself, but also those of all who were confined under lettres de cachet in other prisons and hospitals or convents of Paris and its environs. Within the last ten years sixty thousand of these dossiers have passed under his eyes. In all the innumerable quantity of letters from persons of every rank and station which these contain—applications for orders of arrest, appeals for liberation, petitions of friends, reports of officials from ministers down to police spies—in all this mass of documents M. Funck-Brentano finds not only no trace of any lettre de cachet issued in blank, but not even a hint that any such letter ever was asked for.

—It cannot be objected to his conclusion that these secret documents may have been taken away from the Bastile and destroyed, for it has been demonstrated that the old régime left such untouched. The Bastile was precisely the safest and surest place in the kingdom, and confidential letters and secret documents were sent there for safe-keeping. But M. Funck-Brentano has something better than merely negative evidence to rely on. He has a letter which the lieutenant of police Hérault addressed on February 21, 1731, to the Duchess de Lorges, explaining the long series of regular formalities which had to be gone through before a lettre de cachet could issue. And of more weight yet—of conclusive weight, in fact—is a letter written on the 20th of August, 1770, by the Duc de La Vrillière himself to M. de Blossac, in which he says, in reference to a man who had threatened the King's life: "You will send me a report at once, in order that upon this I may transmit to you orders (*lettres de cachet*) for his transference to the Bastile; but it is not possible to send these to you in blank. That would be against all rule, and against the usage I have constantly observed since I have been in the ministry." But how did the legend of blank lettres de cachet arise? M. Funck-Brentano has a very simple answer to the question. Up to the last years of the reign of Louis XV., until the royal Government became administrative, lettres de cachet were wholly written by hand. The administration then for the first time had some forms printed, and in these, of course, blanks had to be left for names and dates, as well as for the signature of the King. From these blanks, no doubt, the legend sprang.

—The last report (1895) of the London School of Medicine for Women exhibits in detail the high standing and work of its students. These British medical women, year in and year out, have taken the highest position in the examinations of the University of London, the College of Physicians and Surgeons (Edinburgh), and the Society of Apothecaries (London); and although the examinations of the University of London are among the most severe in Great Britain, on different occasions women have appeared at the head of its medical honors list. A steadily increasing number of the school's graduates are being appointed to responsible official positions in Great Britain and the colonies—such as medical officer to the General Post-office (London), examiner for the Government life-assurance fund, Queen's lecturer on physiology to the National Association of Nurses, lecturer to the Technical Instruction Board London County Council, assistant medical officer St. Stephen's Hospital, Delhi; resident physician Kama Hospital, Bombay; lady principal female department Ceylon Medical College, and resident physician Lady Aitchison's Hospital for Women, Lahore. Last, but not least, we may mention by name the acting house surgeon at the Kama Hospital, Bombay, Rukhmabai. This high-caste young Indian woman, after successfully resisting, through the English courts, an attempt to coerce her into fulfilling a marriage contract made for her during infancy, came to England to study medicine; she passed satisfactorily all her examinations, and took the triple qualifications of the Scotch colleges and the M.D. degree of Brussels. To many Americans, accustomed to M.D. degrees dispensed by the thousand from scores of so-called medical colleges—regular, homœopathic, and eclectic—the list of 161 "registered medical women" which the London School of Medicine for Women claims as its contribution to the noble army of modern scientists may seem trifling. Their mere existence and honorable status, however, measure an astonishing growth in public opinion since the autocratic Society of Apothecaries, in 1865, put its bar sinister on medical women. It is matter for regret that the arrangements under negotiation last year for affiliation of the School with the University of St. Andrews have not yet become effective.

THE TRAGEDY OF FOTHERINGAY.

The Tragedy of Fotheringay, founded on the Journal of D. Bourgoing, Physician to Mary, Queen of Scots, and on unpublished MS. documents. By the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott of Abbotsford. With portraits, illustrations, and facsimiles. London: A. & C. Black; New York: Macmillan. 1895. Pp. xiii, 272.

CONTEMPORARY descriptions of historic scenes, however artless, have always an interest beyond the work of the greatest literary artists, even such literary artists as Macaulay and Froude; just as the rudest contemporary sketches have an interest beyond the work of the greatest historical painters. The new contemporary materials used by Mrs. Maxwell Scott in this volume are drawn chiefly from the journal of Dominique Bourgoing, the last physician of Mary, Queen of Scots, published by M. Chantelauze in 1876, recounting the events of the last seven months of Mary's life, including her trial, of which Bourgoing was a witness. Mrs. Maxwell Scott has also two contemporary drawings in a rough style, one of the trial, another of the execution, from the Calthorpe collection, with annotations in the handwriting of Beale, the clerk of Elizabeth's Council, who took down the warrant for the execution. She has made up a volume interesting, as well as attractive to the eye, and her partiality for Mary, though strong, is too frank and undisguised to be misleading.

It is impossible to believe that Mary's last speeches are given to us by Bourgoing exactly as she uttered them. Evidently they have been dressed by the reporter. Yet in substance his accounts agree with those given in the Letters of Sir Amyas Paulet and by other authorities. Once we probably catch him tripping. Mary having, after the trial, asked Paulet some question about the different commissioners, in whose faces she thought she had read varieties of feeling, Bourgoing makes Paulet reply: "Those who accused you and those who kept silence were all actuated by the same sentiment. Not one of them was favorable to your cause." Paulet would hardly have described the judges to Mary as partial and unanimously adverse to the accused. What he did say, as appears from his letter to Walsingham, was that "he prayed her to conceive favorably of the whole assembly, and to think that those which spoke and the rest which were silent were of one consent and mind to hear her cause with all indifference."

The controversy about the character of Mary, Queen of Scots, will probably be settled only by the Last Trumpet. On any hypothesis, great allowance must be made for the influences to which, in the wicked and corrupt Court of Catherine de Médicis, and afterwards among the savage, plotting, and turbulent nobility of Scotland, her young heart was exposed. Her death scene, at all events, here fully described, is in the highest degree magnificent and touching. Her bearing on the scaffold, and from the moment of her condemnation to death, superbly combines royal dignity with Christian resignation and meekness. The death scene of Socrates is not superior in its way. It is not easy to understand how the woman could have gone through it as she did if there had been anything heavy weighing upon her conscience — though what would weigh very heavily on a conscience formed under Catherine de Médicis and the Guises it is difficult to say. Perhaps the murder of Darnley, supposing Mary to have been an accomplice, as we can hardly help doing, need not have weighed on her conscience as the murder of a husband, seeing that he had broken into her chamber with a gang of murderers, stabbed her favorite attendant almost in her arms, and, to justify the outrage, whispered foul slanders against her honor. With Froude, Mary's behavior on the scaffold, like her conduct throughout life, is but the last exhibition of the wiles of the consummate actress and "enchantress." The nerve which could sustain such acting on the scaffold would be almost as admirable as genuine virtue. But Froude is also an enchanter in his way. Mary, when she bent her head to the axe, appeared entirely clothed in red. "Thus," says Froude, "she stood on the black scaffold, with the black figures all around her, blood-red from head to foot. Her reasons," he proceeds, "for adopting so extraordinary a costume must be left to conjecture; it is only certain that it must have been carefully studied, and that the pictorial effect must have been appalling." The fact is that she came on the scaffold in black; but when she was disrobed for execution, her red or crimson petticoat and bodice ("blood-red" Froude chooses to call them) were, probably on her part unexpectedly, at least without any premeditated effect, exposed to view. When her head was cut off, Froude tells us, "the coif fell off and the false plaits; the labored delusion vanished. The lady who had knelt before the block was in the maturity of grace and loveliness; the executioner, when he raised the head, as usual, to show it to the crowd, exposed the grizzled features of a

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withered old woman." This is the literary artist's version of the simple contemporary statement that Mary's "dressing of lawn, falling off from her head, it appeared as gray as one of three-score and ten years old and polled very short, her face in a moment being so much altered from the form she had when she was alive as few could remember her by her dead face." Any face, probably, would be altered by decapitation. But decapitation could not suddenly produce "wrinkles." Froude revels in the falling off of the false hair and the revelation of the gray locks beneath. But surely a woman in those days, at all events, might wear false hair without being a Duessa; and Mary's head, as we see, was covered by a coif. Her own hair might well be gray.

The courts of justice at that time for the trials of state prisoners were, as Hallam says, little better than the caverns of murderers. The trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, was conducted, as under the direction of Burghley and Walsingham it was sure to be, with strict regard to decorum, and without any such insults to the prisoner as disgraced the trial of Raleigh. But it was not fair. The witnesses Nau and Curle were not confronted with the accused, though she earnestly called for their production. She was not allowed access to the papers on which the case against her was founded. She was not provided with counsel, while the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Queen's sergeant appeared against her for the Crown. Alone in the frowning conclave of forty commissioners, she had to face the interrogatories and plead her own cause. In fact, the verdict had been settled, as usual in state trials, by the Privy Council, and the trial at Fotheringay was a legal pageant. History, therefore, must enter a verdict of Not Proven. Mary solemnly protested to the Earl of Kent and his associates, with her hand on the New Testament, that she had "never either desired the death of the Queen or endeavored to bring it about or that of any other person." Such a protest is compatible with the hypothesis that she was guilty of participation in Babington's conspiracy as a plot for her own release from prison, and perhaps as a plot for a rising in her favor, but innocent of it as a plot for the murder of Elizabeth. Participation in a plot for her own release alone would be hardly criminal. That a trap was not laid for her by Walsingham we feel less sure than Froude.

On the other hand, if the ex-Queen of Scots had committed a crime, especially if she had plotted the assassination of Elizabeth, there was no real force in her passionate claim to the inviolability of a sovereign. She had resigned her crown, very reluctantly, no doubt; but not involuntarily in such a sense as to invalidate the resignation. At any rate she had lost it *de facto*. When she sought an asylum in England, she submitted herself to English law. Was she to be at liberty to cut the throat of the English Queen with sovereign impunity? Nor had she any ground for asserting, as she constantly did, that she died a martyr to the Catholic religion. It was not for her religion that she was, or was ever in danger of being, put to death. She was put to death for political conspiracy and as a person dangerous to the State.

What to do with her when once she had been admitted to asylum was a puzzle which, further perplexed as it was by the shifting moods and fancies of Elizabeth, it might well be too much even for such heads as those of Burghley and Walsingham to solve. One thing, however, there was which ought clearly to have been done, and which Elizabeth's Council and her Parliament alike desired: the succession to the crown ought to have been settled by act of Parliament on Mary's son, to the exclusion of his mother; to allow Mary, with Guises pulling her wires, to reign over a Protestant nation being out of the question. Mary's position would then have been unmistakably defined, and she might have been warned at once that if she plotted against the succession, she would be guilty of treason. But to the nomination of a successor the Queen of England was insuperably opposed. She could not bear that while she lived any one should be able to call himself her heir. She preferred to leave the kingdom to the perils of disputed succession, into which, but for the prompt action of the Privy Council, it might have fallen. The execution of Mary, which, it was supposed, would put an end to the danger connected with her, not only made a Catholic saint and martyr, but killed a hostage, and was immediately followed by the sailing of the Armada.

The habit of "the great Queen," whenever anything questionable had to be done, was to shift the responsibility on others. On this occasion Elizabeth outdid herself. She displayed extreme reluctance to sign the death-warrant. At last, Secretary Davison having laid it before her, coaxingly mixed with other papers, she signed it, and with a jest which showed that her feeling of reluctance was not very deep. Then she, through her Secretaries of State, instigated Mary's keepers, Paulet and Drury, to relieve her of the responsibility by putting their prisoner privately to death. Paulet, being, though harsh and somewhat rude, a man of honor, returned, in his own name and in that of his colleague, an emphatic refusal, for which Elizabeth abused him as "a dainty and precise fellow," adding that she had Wingfield, who would not flinch. Paulet, therefore, when he assured Mary that she had no reason to fear assassination, though he told the literal truth, was holding something back. The Council having acted on the warrant by putting Mary to death, Elizabeth flew into a frenzied passion, vowed that the warrant had been used without her consent or knowledge, and actually went through the perfidious farce of disgracing Secretary Davison, throwing him into prison, and condemning him to a heavy fine. The ministers must have been patriots indeed who, for the sake of the country, could have continued to serve such a mistress. Sir Amyas Paulet, after a brief gust of the Queen's displeasure, was restored to favor and made Chancellor of the Garter. He was the keeper of a secret which gave him a strong claim to favorable consideration. Elizabeth by her trickery only let the world know that she had acted against her sense of right in signing the warrant for her kinswoman's execution. In the interest of royalty, indeed, she might well have hesitated, for with the planks of Mary's scaffold was built the scaffold of Charles.

The frontispiece of this volume is a full-length portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots. As it represents her at the moment of execution, it can hardly be authentic if it was taken in this world. There is probably no authentic portrait of her. About a dozen pretended portraits were once exhibited together in London, but they bore no resemblance to one another, and none of them had a good pedigree. The Oxford one had nothing to connect it with Mary at all, beyond having had a fancy portrait of her of late date painted over it. What was this Circe like? The following is given us in the appendix to this volume as from a manuscript endorsed *Executio Reginæ Scotorum*, and apparently from the Tanner manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, though it is not so headed:

"First, she was of stature high, big made and somewhat round-shouldered, her face broad and fatt, double chinned and hazel eyed: her borrowed hair aborne [auburn], having on her head a dressing of lawn edged with bone lace, a pomander chain, an Agnus Dei about her neck, a crucifix in her hand, & a pair of Beads at her girdle with a golden Cross at the end of them, a veil of lawn fastened to her caul bowed out with wire and edged round about with bone lace, a gown of black satin printed with a train, and long sleeves to the ground set with acorn buttons of jet trimmed with pearl, and short sleeves of satin black cut with a pair of sleeves of purple velvet whole, under them a whole Kyrtle of figured satin black, her petticoat upper body's unlaced in the back of crimson satin and her petticoat skirts of crimson velvet, her shoes Spanish leather with the rough side outward, a pair of green silk garters, her nether stocks of worsted coloured watchette clocked with silver and edged on the tops with silver, and next her legs a pair of Jersey hose white."

Mary was buried with royal state in Peterborough Cathedral, but afterwards removed by her son, then King of England, to Westminster and laid among the tombs of the Kings. Of Fotheringay, a great and strong castle at the time of the tragedy, there remains nothing but a green mound, an isolated mass of masonry, and a few thistles. Mary was a dethroned Queen, the connection and correspondent of Catherine de Médicis and the Guises; therefore Catholic Europe thrilled with emotion at her death, and great historians have vied with each other in their descriptions of the tragic scene. There were at that time a good many other tragedies with which the names of Catherine de Médicis and the Guises are linked, and of which the victims, though they suffered not less than the Queen of Scots, nor in a worse cause, not having been royal, sleep in forgotten graves.

RECENT NOVELS.

The Gods, Some Mortals, and Lord Wickenham. By John Oliver Hobbes. D. Appleton & Co.

Eve's Ransom. By George Gissing. D. Appleton & Co.

Tales of Mean Streets. By Arthur Morrison. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Bog-Myrtle and Peat. By S. R. Crockett. D. Appleton & Co.

A Man without a Memory, and Other Stories. By William Henry Sheldon. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Marriage of Esther. By Guy Boothby. D. Appleton & Co.

The Impregnable City. By Max Pemberton. Dodd, Mead & Co.

THE gods, if there yet be righteousness in heaven, might well resent the close association forced upon them with some of the mortals whose iniquities and weaknesses are discussed in the latest and longest book by John Oliver Hobbes. Lord Wickenham could afford to forgive the implication of intimacy in the title in consideration of the small and stately part assigned to him and of the judicious obituary, including a moral of wide application, which he is permitted to pronounce upon his friend, Dr. Simon Warre. After some generalization on noble ideals and the imperative necessity of living up to them which is imposed by

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the misfortune of once having cherished them, "we," says Wickenham, "should do nothing —we should say nothing—we should content ourselves with nothing—which seems to fall below the highest we can think of. . . . Warre took the lesser thing. That is the sum of his folly." Unconscious lapse into triteness is not one of the author's defects, so it may be supposed that she puts this excellent platitude into Wickenham's mouth, and applies it directly, in order to make plain to a heedless public that there is something more in the book than the description of a corrupt and shameless woman—the lesser thing that Warre took and that drove him through degrees of misery to despair and death. From an artistic point of view, so plain a statement of motive is a mistake, and unnecessary for a sympathetic reader, who soon feels the presence of good intention and its increasing passion. Still, at a time when women novelists frisk with indecency simply for love of the sport, any literary expedient that may prevent misapprehension is to be forgiven. The question whether any motive can justify the delineation of such a person as Anne Delaware is a wider one, but a discussion on that would include an argument that it is right for old-fashioned, sober, sane people to go about with shotguns and pick off decadents and degenerates at sight.

There are many ugly possibilities in life, and Anne Delaware is among the ugliest. Fundamentally, she exists in the provinces and slums, quite as noxious and vile there as in the high places of London, though less dazzling. Flaubert called her Mme. Bovary, and it seems superfluous to provide people curious to make her acquaintance with any other biography. As Anne Delaware she presents some slight divergence from the type, partly peculiar to herself and partly the result of surrounding and circumstance. Having the luck to cross the path of so sentimental and chivalrous a man as Warre, the utmost license is given to her talent for working woe and desolation. Coarsely speaking, Warre's behavior from the tragic moment which reveals Anne's gross past is that of a fool—a fool whom nobody wishes to care for or respect, yet is compelled to by the deep feeling and clear reason shown in the treatment of his subtle and unbalanced nature. When he resolves to stand by his wife, the hopelessness of his case is evident, and there is no comfort in following it further, except for those who enjoy deep depression of spirits and a bath in the gall of bitterness.

The author's rather touching attempt to mitigate the bitterness by bringing on Allegra, Warre's forsaken ideal, is futile, for she is no more than an allegorical figure for youth, innocence, and virtue. The most she does is to illustrate the limitations in art of the confirmed pessimist. Unadulterated optimism is dull, but prolonged pessimism is intolerable; therefore until grace is given to the author to perceive and believe in some compensations for the evil of life, one may hope that she will write no more novels. In the long run her unquestionably sincere gloom and cynicism overcome her assumed lightness and indifference, and the life goes out of her style. All that she can do better than any of her contemporaries is done in the first ten chapters, which are remarkable examples of vivid, though disconnected, narrative, and frank, comprehensive characterization.

The principal character in Mr. Gissing's short novel may certainly be described as a "doubtful person." He never speaks plainly about Eve Madeley, but is constantly agitated by horrid suspicions, which to some readers may appear confirmation strong. Patty Ringrose, Eve's pal, might have given a succinct and interesting account of her character and career, but she is dowered with a rare discretion. The only downright expression of opinion is in her letter to Eve's lover, Hilliard, in which she tells him that he has been jilted for more money, and remarks, "I felt sure it would come to this, and, if you'll believe me, it's just as well." No reader is likely to differ with Patty, and the most cheerful feature of the tale is that Hilliard soon came to accept her view without regret. Eve is decidedly too deep for Mr. Gissing, and her portraiture therefore is indistinct and unsatisfactory. In Hilliard he is on surer ground, drawing him firmly, and proving his superiority to his class by showing how his character was strengthened instead of debased by the reckless and irrational expenditure of a few hundred pounds accidentally acquired. Such a result of gross if not criminal extravagance points no moral useful to the philanthropist who eloquently urges the working classes to put their money in a savings-bank, and attributes all their miseries to a fatal preference for putting it in a beer-mug.

Better inspiration for denunciatory rhetoric lies in the pages of Mr. Morrison's 'Tales of Mean Streets.' The social condition he describes is a stratum lower than that on which Mr. Gissing gazes with intent and melancholy eye, and its general aspect less monotonously gray. Tragedy and comedy meet in Mean Streets, and human nature of a poor sort expresses itself freely, restrained only by strictly local standards of decency and manners. Mr. Morrison appears to know Mean Street so well that he can seize the average temper and temperament of its denizens, and through well-devised incidents illustrate the prevailing shiftlessness, low morality, and lower intelligence. When his Squire Napper "comes into a little money," he spends it prodigally, even as Mr. Gissing's Hilliard; but, being no better than his kind, the Squire's soul profiteth nothing by temporary liberty from toil. On the contrary, his spiritual and physical condition is lower when the money is gone than before it came, and he justifies the unsentimental opinion that the poor are themselves responsible for their poverty. On the first story, "Lizerunt," a pretty accurate judgment of local morality may be based, and the average intelligence of strikers, rioters, and anarchists is not underrated in such sketches as "Without Visible Means" and "The Red Cow Group." All the tales are good examples of the fiction produced by a close observer with a critical sense of literary value. Here there is no need for imagination and no room for guessing at motives and constructing a probable inner consciousness. For a full representation of the life of the Street, the selection of episodes is admirable, and the neatness, force, and naturalness of the author's expression deserve unstinted praise. His work makes the strongest impression of actuality, and suggests the practical inference that astuteness rather than piety and a certain hardness of heart, rather than moral fervor, are the needful qualities for significant missionary work in the mean streets of London.

Mr. Crockett's 'Bog-Myrtle and Peat' rejoices in a mystic preface. Whether the author's first intention is poetically to bewail a disparity between his aspiration and achievement, or to reprove one or two critics who have fallen short of his own good opinion of some of his published works, is not clear, but there is no vagueness about the naïve egotism of his introduction to his latest collection of tales. Some of these are excellent, several are surprisingly bad, and most are betwixt and between. The good and indifferent are drawn from Galloway, the bad from Edinburgh, London, and places even less redolent of myrtle and peat. Now Galloway appears to be uncommonly blessed with fragrant air, fine scenery, and people profoundly interesting to any one with a sense of humor. Still, Galloway cannot last for ever at the rate of a book or two a year, and, if Mr. Crockett is to live at all by the profession of letters, he must be permitted occasional excursions into fresh even if less fertile fields. He might even escape censure for falling below his best Galloway level, because local writers who make success by describing the difference between what they know by heart and the rest of the world, very seldom come off so well when they forsake the exhibition of special knowledge for the exposition of general principles. Nevertheless, a meagre capacity for self-criticism would surely have preserved for the sacred seclusion of 'The Book Sealed,' referred to in the preface, so inconsequent and amateurish a tale as "Saint Lucy of the Eyes." The youthful bumptiousness and triviality of the Edinburgh student tales could also have been enshrined there without detriment to the volume under consideration.

In the comparisons inevitably drawn between Mr. Barrie and Mr. Crockett they have frequently been pronounced equal, and sometimes the earlier writer has been severely admonished to content himself as second fiddle. An examination of the best work of each, 'A Window in Thrums' and 'The Stickit Minister,' can hardly fail to show that Mr. Barrie's greatest strength is in delineation of the essentially human, while Mr. Crockett's lies in emphasizing the accidental and eccentric. There can be no question about which is of greater value, actual and literary, and which promises best for sustained excellence in fiction.

The title-story in the volume entitled 'A Man without a Memory' is not the best. It recalls a great tragic story by Kipling, 'The Man Who Was,' a pure bit of bad luck for Mr. Sheldon, for the scenes of the two incidents are so far apart, and the details so dissimilar, that there is no good reason to suppose he had ever read Mr. Kipling's tale. A defect for which the author may be justly held responsible is indirectness, a propensity to wander in the vague and linger on the insignificant, thereby enfeebling a pathetic and dramatic situation. The same fault is noticeable in a second war-story, "The Adventures of Certain Prisoners," but is happily absent from "The Demented Ones" and "The Horses That Responded." The tales in which there is no smoke of battle are not above mediocrity, indicating industry and will rather than literary impulse.

The opening situation in 'The Marriage of Esther' reminds us at once of a similar and better one. It seems to us doubtful whether if Mr. Stevenson had not begun 'The Ebb Tide' with the picture of three vagabonds of Papeiti, Mr. Boothby would have plunged into the history of two vagabonds of Thursday Island. Nevertheless, Murkard and Ellison are sufficiently original outcasts to stand on their own legs metaphorically, especially Murkard, even though excessive indulgence in whiskey frequently incapacitates him physically. The adventures of the strangely matched pair at a pearling station on the Australian coast are novel and interesting, and the somewhat improbable and fantastic Murkard particularly

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is well sustained. Perhaps in desperation for some new way of accounting for the degradation of an English gentleman, the author hit on the expedient of making Ellison an incurable liar. Whether his happy escape from a very bad scrape (effected by Murkard's heroic friendship) served as a permanent deterrent from unveracity is doubtful, but the chances are that he might romance vividly for the rest of his life without getting again into such a tight place. Towards the end of the tale the author appears to be completely rattled, introducing arbitrarily a black-hearted villain and running riot in irrelevant crime.

Except for heedless youth, there can be no illusion about the story of the 'Impregnable City.' The author incautiously attaches the date 1892 to the action, and grown-ups say, "No, it cannot be; we should, indeed, be idiotic had we forgotten the columns of type surely devoted by the press to such extraordinary happenings." For boys, on the other hand, the story is rather spoiled by making the motive of the kidnapped physician's attachment to the refugees of "the Impregnable City" a violent and perfectly senseless passion for the daughter of the philanthropic Austrian Count, who harbors and rules a colony of political criminals in his island fortress. The idea that a single devotee to the cause of humanity might surreptitiously relieve European nations of the care of their troublesome subjects is attractive. It is incredible that the French or any other Government should wantonly sacrifice good sailors and war-ships to recover anarchists and assassins who had been securely and eternally removed from the scenes of their activity by a benevolent old gentleman.

A History of the City of Brooklyn and Kings County. By Stephen M. Ostrander, M.A., late member of the Holland Society, the Long Island Historical Society, and the Society of Old Brooklynites. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Alexander Black, author of 'The Story of Ohio,' etc. 2 vols. Brooklyn, No. 95 Madison Street: Mrs. S. M. Ostrander.

THE honors of this publication are much more evenly divided than the title-page denotes. Mr. Black's editing has been so extensive that the completed book must be regarded as nearly or quite as much his as Mr. Ostrander's, and what praise or blame attaches to it must be shared about equally between them. A series of articles published in the Brooklyn *Eagle* in 1879–'80 were Mr. Black's original stock in hand. Mr. Ostrander, a descendant of Pieter Ostrander, who came to America in 1659, had written these articles with the enthusiasm and affection of a Dutchman for the Dutch beginnings of New York and Brooklyn, but they were not written in a strict chronological order and they were far from being a complete history, especially of the more recent times. They were fullest for the middle period, from the beginning of the Revolution to the time of the consolidation of Brooklyn with Williamsburgh and Bushwick in 1854. From this time onward there was an unfinished sketch covering some twenty years. A chapter on the twenty following, "The Modern City," is entirely, we understand, the work of Mr. Black.

The appearance of the book is very different from that of the ordinary city and county history. Every detail of paper, type, and binding is not merely handsome, but sumptuous. Indeed, the type is so large and printed so openly, and the margins are so wide, that the amount of matter in the two volumes (pp. 304, 292) is small and the book is quickly read. While there are many complimentary allusions to individuals in the concluding parts, in no respect does the book compare so favorably with the characteristic local histories of recent times as in the absence of all elaborate puffing of persons anxious for notoriety. There are no steel engravings or other portraits paid for so generously by the subjects of them that the book might go to press with no liabilities and the subscriptions be clear gain. Mr. Ostrander was a local politician, and his style has something of the genial warmth which one expects from members of his class. He was also a lawyer, and the legal aspects of various matters consequently receive an emphasis which is often interesting and important, but is sometimes excessive, as when the litigation which resulted from an aldermanic scuffle is given with considerable detail. In other respects, too, the right proportions in the treatment of important matters are not always well observed. This is notably so with the account of the Brooklyn bridge. We have several pages of effusive rhetoric quoted from the addresses made at the celebration of its completion, but a very meagre account of the structure, its various proportions, the difficulties encountered, and the means by which they were overcome. The tragical death of the elder Roebling is treated somewhat expansively, but of the accident which made his son a chronic sufferer for years, unable to observe the progress of the work except from a distance, there is no mention whatsoever. There is in general an exaggeration of civic celebrations and parades, in one case even the benediction of the clergyman who ornamented the occasion being duly set down.

The endeavor to "make things pleasant all around" has operated to obscure the character of certain political persons and events. The local Democratic leaders are treated handsomely, each getting his nice bit of compliment; and of Hugh McLaughlin, "who has retained his position at the head of the party since before the Rebellion," we are told: "The period and completeness of this local leadership probably finds [*sic*] no parallel in American political history." It is true that "no analogous situation has ever existed in the Republican party" in Brooklyn, but that the Republican ring has been more respectable than the Democratic, or less corrupt, does not appear. A temper more engaged than that of these pages with the spirit and the methods of political reform would have added to their significance. No one would gather from them what was implied by the election of Mr. Seth Low, or that it was effected by the aid of a few thousand independent Democrats, or that the refusal of the Republicans to support any Democrat, however unimpeachable his character, brought chaos back again.

The opening chapter on the geology of Brooklyn and Long Island smacks of antiquity, while it holds up to ridicule the geological lucubrations of an earlier historian. A chapter on the Dutch and the Indians quotes at length from Mr. Douglas Campbell (misspelling his name) a perfervid Scotch indictment of English cruelty as compared with the clemency of the Dutch settlers. It is not from his *opus magnum*, but from an address of 1880, and is valuable as indicating that the Dutch conquest of his imagination had so remote a date.

There is an interesting chapter on the social and domestic life of the Dutch settlers. The invaluable journal of Dankers and Sluyter, published by the Long Island Historical Society, contributes less than it might have done to the pages relating to these matters. For the excellent account of Gov. Leisler's honorable career and tragic death we are more indebted to its intrinsic interest than to its pertinency in a Brooklyn history. The chapter on the Revolutionary period is signalized by the most important historical event which Brooklyn has ever witnessed—the battle of Long Island. Here it was difficult to go astray with Field's able and exhaustive monograph on the battle to rely upon for intelligent guidance. Mr. Ostrander's chapter would probably have been fuller but for his fear of borrowing too freely from that. As it is, the gaps in his narration often leave much to be desired. There is not a word, for instance, of the happy fortune of Washington in having a regiment of Marblehead fishermen to put his army across East River on the night of the retreat, without which the business would apparently have been impossible.

The chapter, "Brooklyn after the Revolution," which opens the second volume, derives much of its interest from the oft-told story of the prison-ships, and from the contrast which the village of a century ago offers to the city of to-day. Then a man on horseback had to open seventeen barred gates along the shore of East River towards Williamsburgh within a distance of a mile and a half, there being no public road. New York insisted on her ownership of the river to the Brooklyn side, and in due course the sailors on board ships at the Brooklyn navy-yard voted in the New York Seventh Ward upon the basis of that claim. There is some very loose writing in chapter x, "Brooklyn Village," Fiske's "critical period of American history" being confounded with the first years of the present century, and some pages quoted from it as describing these. That the first steam ferry-boat, May 10, 1814, made forty trips the Sunday following, indicates a double fearlessness—of the new motive power and of Sabbath-breaking. In fact, the modern pessimist will find many things here written of the former times to encourage his sad heart. In 1832 there was one tavern to every sixty-nine persons—one district had a tavern for every thirty-six persons—while a saloon for every two hundred and twenty-five persons was recently the Brooklyn proportion.

From the time that Brooklyn was made a city in 1834 this narrative is hardly more than a statistical account of political changes and the rise of different institutions of education, charity, punishment, and so on. In the paragraphs on Brooklyn libraries a few statistics would have been welcome, comparing the circulation of the small free libraries with that of the Brooklyn Library, which is for subscribers only. Two of these, with about 70,000 books, have an annual circulation of nearly 400,000 volumes, while the Brooklyn Library, with nearly twice as many books as both of them together, has a circulation only about one-fourth as large. We read of "the free library of the Long Island Historical Society," but it is merely a reference library for the use of members only. There is a good account of the Brooklyn Institute; and where the distribution of compliments is so generous, Prof. Hooper, the Director, might well have had a larger share. The complimentary allusion to Dr. Talmage was evidently written before his third church-burning and general collapse. Doctorates of divinity are given with a generosity that shames the gingerly conduct of the universities. If the editorial profession had its degrees, its representatives would no doubt have fared as well as

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the clergymen. As it is, they wear their rosemary with a difference, but none have reason to complain. The industrial growth of the city has no adequate treatment in the body of the book, but this lack is in part made good by a statistical appendix. There is no such confession, but it is evident that Brooklyn has suffered in many ways from her nearness to New York, but with great compensations. A careful statement for and against consolidation would have been a natural and agreeable climax to the book, as we have not had one yet from any quarter; but for some unknown reason it has been withheld.

The Church in America [National Churches]. By Leighton Coleman, S.T.D., LL.D., with map. James Pott & Co. 1895.

THIS volume, we are told in the first words of the preface, "belongs to a series intended to give a comprehensive history of National Churches." The writer frankly anticipates that "it may be difficult to convince some of [his] readers of the propriety of calling the Protestant Episcopal Church the National Church of America"; but that he is justified in doing so will, he hopes, be acknowledged "when it is remembered that in the beginning what is popularly known as the Episcopal Church was by charter and law established in the older colonies; that, more than any other ecclesiastical organization, she had to do with constituting the nation, and, in the period of the civil war, with its maintenance and reunion; and that, while conservative and catholic in her character, she is yet distinctively American in spirit." But these theses are left standing, for the most part, as if they were self-evident propositions, and they fall short of being this by several degrees. However it may have been *de jure* in the colonies, *de facto* the Episcopal Church had but a feeble grip on them, and such as she had was that of the Church of England, not the Church of America. Then, as to "constituting the nation," a series of events known as the War for Independence, or the Revolutionary War, had much to do with this, and over this Dr. Coleman passes lightly with a *suppressio veri* which comes very near to being a *suggestio falsi*, if it does not overlap. It is true that there were Episcopalian clergymen and laymen of fine parts and lofty character on the American side, but the clergy as a body were faithful to their oath of allegiance to the Crown, and nothing in their lives became them more than their fidelity. To pretend that the Episcopal Church, as such, took a conspicuous and honorable part in "constituting the nation" is, to speak plainly, ridiculous.

Equally ridiculous is the claim of splendid service rendered to the "maintenance and reunion" of the nation in the civil war. This claim is briefly argued in chapter xii., and the specifications urged in justification of it are (1) that "after a long and brilliant debate" in the Convention of 1862, "a series of resolutions was adopted susceptible of a favorable interpretation on either side of the house."—in Dante's phrase, "neither for God nor for his enemies." (2) "The efforts of the majority were directed to prevent, so far as possible, anything being said or done to hinder a spontaneous reunion of the Church," an anchor to windward more suggestive of self-interest than of patriotic devotion. (3.) At the Convention of 1865 ("The God of peace and love Himself presided there"), "when the Southern bishops asked to be excused from attending the service of thanksgiving, the Convention agreed to strike out from the report of the joint committee words to which they had objected, and which some thought had political bearing"—naturally, as they expressed gratitude for the destruction of slavery. On this subject Dr. Coleman's book is as silent as the General Convention. The reader not otherwise informed would not imagine that the civil war had anything to do with slavery, or that there was any such social institution implicated in our national life.

In chapter xxii. the rapid growth of the Episcopal Church is urged as another reason why its claim to be the American Church should be allowed. But if numerical preponderance is to decide, it will be long before the Episcopalians overhaul the Methodists and Baptists, and when they do so, their church will be as far from being national as it is now, seeing that a national church is one which is formally united with the State, and this is something which no church in the United States will ever be.

Apart from its particular absurdity, Dr. Coleman's book has the disadvantage of being extremely dull—a chronicle of desiccated facts from which all of that moisture which is called humor has been pressed out, and, as far as possible, all human interest. Those who have read Dr. S. D. McConnell's 'History of the American Episcopal Church' will have no occasion to read this, and, if they attempt it, they will wonder how the later writer could feel called to write so flatly and heavily what was already written so well and so delightfully. The endeavor to minimize all differences has resulted in a lack of definite impression, and a monochromatic wash obscuring all the natural color of events.

The American Congress: A History of National Legislation and Political Events (1774–1895). By Joseph West Moore. Harper & Brothers. 1895. Pp. xii, 581.

THIS rather bulky and rather showy volume is rather a good book, but it cannot honestly be called very good. It recalls the classic endorsement of Artemus Ward's labors addressed to those who liked that sort of literature. It may be that some persons want a new History of the United States, written as if by one who had lived at our successive seats of government ever since the first Continental Congress, becoming familiar with the members of Congress and other public men, and the successive customs of the halls of state, competent to give neat personal descriptions and concise biographies, abstracts of great debates, and analyses of stirring public questions. Some of this work, whether recasting old and familiar matter, or bringing into light what has been forgotten, is well done. But as it is a familiar remark that persons who live and move and have their being exclusively in Washington know very little of the real state of the country and public opinion, so this history, written from the point of view of the Capitol, shows no true proportion in its insertions and omissions. There are several long lists of prominent Representatives and Senators at different periods in Congressional history, but these are so chosen as to combine members belonging to different national generations, and to leave out many quite as important. For instance, Charles Francis Adams is named only as the arbitrator at Geneva, though in his short Congressional service he was very conspicuous, and his diplomatic services in England are never alluded to, though those of the Pinckneys and others under Adams and Jefferson are detailed. The election and succession of Presidents is generally given, but Monroe's first election is passed over entirely, and likewise the succession of Fillmore by the death of Taylor. These are but a few instances of a general want of principle in selecting whom and what to commemorate.

In the same manner, while much of the book is scrupulously accurate, there are here and there very bad mistakes. As amusing a one as any is transferring Mr. Emerson's lines about the "embattled farmers" to the field of Lexington (p. 42); for which the author must be prepared to meet the shots of embattled Concord. Lyman Hall appeared as an independent delegate at Philadelphia from the Midway Parish before the Colony of Georgia made him her delegate (p. 51). Napoleon's Decrees are spoken of as if called out by the Orders in Council (p. 202); but the most offensive of these was in retaliation for the Berlin Decree. The British soldiers at Bladensburg are called "veterans of Waterloo," which was not fought till nearly ten months later (p. 208). The Holy Alliance was not formed till after the Bourbons were restored (p. 229). The signer of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was not Sir Edward Bulwer (Lord Lytton), but his brother, Sir Henry (Lord Dalling) (p. 233). The President's power of removal was seriously contested in Jackson's time, thirty years before Johnson (p. 419). A different kind of carelessness is shown in calling the columns of the old Hall of Representatives variegated marble (p. 212). Among other delicacies of style may be pointed out a most gratuitous change of "and to prove it" as written by Washington, into "and to prove which" (p. 155). Also, "avonched" for "averred" (p. 258), Narcisco Lopez (p. 351), and Conners (p. 428), are prominent misprints. The author has earnestly tried to betray no party leanings which might prevent his doing justice to all. But he cannot help calling the Mugwumps of 1884 "apostates" (p. 480).

The Source and Mode of Solar Energy throughout the Universe. By I. W. Heysinger, M.A., M.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1895.

DR. HEYSINGER writes charmingly, and has made a better book than any mere crank could ever make. Nevertheless, we do not read far in it before we find he has not the knowledge his difficult problem requires. The following undiscriminating sentence, which we come upon at the beginning of the third page, is conclusive as to that:

"The authorities cited in this work include many illustrious names: Proctor, Tyndall, Helmholtz, Langley, Huggins, Newcomb, Young, Flammarion, Balfour Stewart, R. Kalley Miller, Herschel, Nichol, Lord Rosse, Urbanitzky, Crookes, Fraunhofer, Ball, and many others, all of whom are known throughout the world as among the master minds of science."

The theory is not perspicuously stated, but some features of it are plain enough. Dr. Heysinger, while not utterly rejecting the condensation theory of the sun's energy, thinks that there are only slight condensations and expansions of the sun. These answer the purpose of a fly-wheel or governor to keep the radiation uniform. He holds that the instrument for the collection of energy in the sun is an electrical instrument. The total amount of energy spent is only that absorbed by the planets, for the rest is put in bank—that is, the thermal radiation into vacuous space becomes converted into electrical energy. How does that portion which is spent get replenished?

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We should suppose by the retardation of the orbital motions of the planets, since Dr. Heysinger argues, and with no small force, that they must be influence machines. But he seems to think influence machines work at the expense of the energy of the air, though everybody who has ever turned the handle of one is conscious of doing more work as the machine comes into action. However that may be, the electricity thus collected flows, says Dr. Heysinger, to the sun, and its energy is there converted into heat.

This conflicts at several points with opinions that are backed by pretty solid considerations. It supposes, for example, the planetary spaces to be filled with ordinary vapors. Why, under those circumstances, the sun does not withdraw the atmospheres from the planets, is a problem the author ought to have worked out before coming before the public. That the resistances, mechanical and electrical, would not be too great to be admitted, is not shown. The calm way in which aqueous vapor at the temperature of the planetary spaces is talked of is startling. Its pressure might be something like that of Crookes's tubes—what are called "high vacua." In fact, the difficulties are multiform. At the same time, there is hardly room for doubt that electricity does play a part more or less important in the solar system, and speculations of the same complexion as Dr. Heysinger's, but more exactly reasoned, will be much heard of in the near future. The book is certainly not without interest as suggestive of points some of which may be sustained.

The last chapter but one is occupied with a minute verbal examination of the Hebrew form of the Chaldæan cosmogony.

In Stevenson's Samoa. By Marie Fraser. Macmillan & Co.

MANY more instructive and pretentious books of travel have been written than the little sketch called 'In Stevenson's Samoa,' but few so pleasing and unaffected. Miss Fraser happened to be among the last Europeans who saw Mr. Stevenson often and intimately, and this fortuitous circumstance may lead many to look at her book who will gladly read it through for other reasons. As a matter of fact, she touches the novelist lightly, rather avoiding the appearance of airing an acquaintance with a great man. What she does say about him is in the best possible taste, and confirms the impression that Mr. Stevenson's death is a greater loss to his friends even than to letters.

Miss Fraser has the happy knack of a clever, fresh girl who wants to tell people about what she saw in a strange and pleasant land, indulging in few reflections and not concerned to draw instructive inferences. She describes her search for a house at Apia; the house after it was found; the servants; the food and the manner of cooking it; her visitors, their manners and customs, or lack of it; the daily life of the people, and all the native feasts and functions that she happened to assist at. She enjoyed it all thoroughly, and makes us feel that no one is truly happy but the Samoan who squats in the sun, dressed in fresh-plucked flowers, smoking and gossiping all the year round.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Beiley, U. J. Der Praktische Deutsche. Wm. R. Jenkins. $1.
Bertheroy, J. Le Roman d'une Ame. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.
Campbell, W. W. Mordred and Hildebrand: A Book of Tragedies. Ottawa; J. Durie & Son.
Chiffon's Marriage. Hurst & Co.
Clementsen, G. B. The Road Rights and Liabilities of Wheelmen. Chicago: Callaghan & Co.
Deschamps, G. La Vie et les Livres. 2e série. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.
Dix, Gertrude. The Girl from the Farm. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Gates, L. E. Selections from the Prose of Cardinal Newman. Henry Holt & Co. 90 cents.
Jackson, F. G. The Great Frozen Land: A Winter Journey across the Tundras, and a Sojourn among the Samoyads. Macmillan. $4.50.
King, Capt. Charles. The Story of Fort Frayne. F. Tennyson Neely.
Littell's Living Age. Vol. 205. April—June, 1895. Boston: Littell & Co.
Muir, Sir W. Mahomet and Islam. 3d ed. Fleming H. Revell Co. $1.
Nixon, Dr. O. W. How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon. Chicago; Star Publishing Co. $1.75.
Olié Laprune, L. Ce qu'on va chercher à Rome. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.
Rabbeno, Prof. U. The American Commercial Policy: Three Essays. 2d ed. Macmillan. $3.25.
Samelson, Moses. The Way Out: Exemplified Philosophy. The Irving Co.
Stuart, Esme. Harum Scarum: The Story of a Wild Girl. International News Co.
The Cathedrals of England and Wales. London: The *Builder.*
Weidner, Prof. R. F. An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology. Based on Luthardt. F. H. Revell Co. $2.
Wentworth, G. A. A Mental Arithmetic. Boston: Ginn & Co. 35 cents.
Winter, W. Shadows of the Stage. 3d series. Macmillan. 75 cents.

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